

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

MAY 1ST, 1871.

PROFESSOR BUSK, F.R.S., *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following new members were announced: EDWARD PALMER, Esq.; and HENRY WALLIS, Esq., of Mangalore, Madras Presidency.

The following presents were announced, and the thanks of the meeting voted to the respective donors:—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the SOCIETY.—Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, i Band, No. 7.

From the AUTHOR.—The True Story of Louis Napoleon's Life. S. Phillips Day.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. xix, No. 127.

From the EDITOR.—Nature, to date.

From the AUTHOR.—Dynamics of Nerve and Muscle. C. B. Radcliffe, M.D.

From the INSTITUTE.—Journal of the Royal United Service Institute.

From the AUTHOR.—On Aphasia, or Loss of Speech. F. Bateman, M.D.

From the AUTHOR.—Loss of Speech. R. Dunn, F.R.C.S.

From the AUTHOR.—Observations on the Phenomena of Life and Mind. R. Dunn, F.R.C.S.

From the AUTHOR.—Examination of Gillespie. D. S. Barrett.

From the ASSOCIATION.—Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, No. 5.

From the AUTHOR.—Ethnology of Hyderabad, in the Dekhan. E. Balfour, L.R.C.P.

The following paper was then read:

VOL. I.

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On the STONE MONUMENTS of the KHASI HILL TRIBES, and on some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People. By

Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India.

THE increasing interest that is taken at the present day in ethnology and the history of man in past and present ages, more particularly in the customs of semi-civilised races in distant quarters of the world as compared with the state of those races who dwelt in Europe in early historic times, has led me to put together the information I obtained regarding the people of the Khāsi Hill tracts. Their customs are peculiar, and the fact that they are among the very few who erect at the present day monolithic monuments, is alone of great interest.

This has not escaped the attention of different travellers, officers of the Indian service and others who have visited that quarter of the Bengal Presidency, and from time to time papers have been published; these are scattered through a number of periodicals, and in no case is a complete record of these Hill people to be found.

Notices on the Garos and Khāsis, as well as many of the other tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, are generally very short, in some instances mislead, and in some cases do the people, savages though they be, but little justice; in truth, there is very much to admire in these Hill people, they are in many ways, socially and physically, far above their Bengālī neighbours of the plains; intercourse with them is, in consequence, much pleasanter, easier, and has far greater interest; innate honesty and truth in their manners of dealing often crop out, more especially in villages well within the hills, where contact with the people of the plains is of rare occurrence.

I shall notice the best of these papers having reference to tribes inhabiting the range of hills running west to east, south of Assam, from the sharp southern bend of the Brahmaputra up to the Kopili and Diyung river, in long. 92 deg. 45 min., a length of some one hundred and sixty-five miles.

In the "Asiatic Researches," vol. iii, published so far back as 1792, is a very interesting paper on the Gāros, by Mr. John Eliot; his travels, however, did not extend so far to the east as the Khāsias.

The Rev. A. B. Lish, a missionary of Cherra Poonjee, published an account of the Khāsias in the "Calcutta Christian Observer" for 1838, he gives an account of their mode of breaking eggs for omens, etc.

Neither in M'Cosh's "Topography of Assam," or in Robinson's "Assam," is any newer or better information afforded concerning

the Gāro or Khāsi than is to be found in earlier writers, and no allusion is made to the stone monuments. The first contains a very exaggerated and by no means faithful account of both the Khāsi and Gāro, and the latter has copied Elliott's descriptions.

Dr. Hooker, in his "*Himalayan Journals*," gives some good drawings of the stone monuments—alludes briefly to their form, and the habits of the people. Dr. Hooker also alluded to the Khāsias at the meeting of the British Association at Norwich in 1868; thus attention was drawn to them in a prominent manner. A paper was written shortly after this by Lieut. E. N. Steel, R.A., who had been quartered for some time at Cherra Poonjee, and published in the "*Transactions of the Ethnological Society*," vol. vii.

The latest paper that we have on the Khāsias is one published in the "*Ausland*" of last year, by — Schlagintweit, yet is not confined solely to the people, but treats of the meteorology of the district, and very briefly of the geology. The Gāros and Nāgas are also noticed. I hope to be able in a future paper to call attention to these people, and shall then allude to one or two paragraphs where I think M. Schlagintweit has been led into error. To one such error I would now refer. He says, "The Khassias are the most numerous and most powerful of the tribes inhabiting the part running from west to south (he must mean east) in this mountainous district, but it is also necessary to mention the two groups of Gārdos and Jaintias who are their neighbours in the south (he must mean the east) and the west. The grade of civilisation of the Gārdos and Jaintias is very low, etc., etc." Now, M. Schlagintweit must have been quite misinformed as regards the Jaintias, and he has evidently never been among them, or he would have known that the Jaintias, or more properly speaking, the Sintengs, are of the same stock as the Khāsias, that the language is the same with some slight modification, and that their customs and religious rites are almost identical. In Cherra Poonjee itself there is a small hamlet of emigrants from the Jaintia side, and they are found living among the Khasias in the main village. Many of the clans in Cherra claim to have originally come, several generations back, from the side of Jawai.

M. Schlagintweit further on says:—"The want of all modesty in the grown-up people of these primitive races, to whom we apply the term savages, is very remarkable." With this statement I do not agree, and consider they have the feeling strongly developed, and are quite as particular about the exposure of their persons as the people of India proper. The Gāro wears the "Lungooti" quite as large as that worn by the lower classes in Bengal and N. W. Provinces, etc.,

etc., when employed at heavy labour. Very much more decent is it than the thin gauze-like cloth worn by even the better class of Baboo in Calcutta, which makes hardly any pretence of concealing the private parts. I can speak for the Gāro women being particularly quiet and modest in their demeanour; and the young men on reaching a certain age, and until they marry, live and take their meals apart in a large house constructed for them; this is always the largest in the village, and where strangers are put up. This custom mitigates strongly against "their want of modesty", so often advanced, and proves, if anything, an advanced state of morality.

Again, in speaking of the Khasis and the looseness of their family and domestic relations, which are somewhat easy, the frequent changing of wives is not so common as might be supposed, and in the remoter villages I should say very rare. There is a very strong force which militates against its frequent practice. The men of these tribes select their wives not for beauty and delicacy, but for their well-developed forms and hard-working qualities—those who can carry heavy loads throughout the day; and the more children she begets the better for the pair: they can cultivate as these grow up a larger area, and live in greater comfort.

In the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March, 1852, is to be found one of the best papers on the Khāsis, by the Rev. W. Pryse, who was attached to the Welsh Mission working both at Cherra Poonjee and Sylhet. A very good article appears in the *Calcutta Review* for 1856, vol. 27, being a review of the "Geology of the Khāsi Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District," by Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, a work containing much valuable and interesting matter. An Introduction to the Khāsia Language, by the Rev. W. Pryse, is also included in the above review.

The various ways in which the word Khāsi has been spelt by different writers, has no doubt puzzled many an European reader, and will be familiar no doubt to some in the form of Cossyah, Khassyah, Kasia, etc. The most correct has been adopted by the mission at Cherra Poonjee in their printed works in the language, and adopted in this paper.

They call themselves Ki Khāsi, and their country Ká Ri Khāsi,* and without going out of our way to seek for a derivation of this word, may it not be derived from the Hindustani "Ghāsi"—grassy: the whole of the upper lands being of this nature, in contradiction to the forest-clad valleys and slopes of the outer hills both north and south. The Khāsiās never pro-

* Compare "Rhi", a mountain (Tibetan).

nounce the hard G ; and in all words of Hindustani origin this letter has the sound of K.

They are called by the tribes of Kúkis and Nágas on the west "Káro", the name they themselves have for the whole mass of hill people on their western side, the Gāros, though as we pass towards their confines, we find the names of local clans giving way to this general term which was not known to some of the villagers of West Nongstoin, who call the Gāros "Dékor."

The Gāro appellation for the Khāsis is "Dikkil" or "Digil"; and it was very interesting to find, after visiting the villages of both, that they mutually fear each other, and consequently border raids never occur. The Gāros owned that they feared the bow and arrow of their neighbour, a weapon they themselves are unacquainted with the use of.

The Khāsis always point to the east as the quarter from which they emigrated, but there is very little, if any, similarity with the languages of the people now occupying the hills on that side.

Before entering further on the subject matter of this paper, I must request my hearers or readers to remember that having no knowledge colloquially of the Khasi language, the information I give was obtained from natives who understood either English or Hindustani well. The greater part of the information was given me by a very intelligent man, a native inspector of schools in the district ; thus I hope that all errors that exist may be hereafter corrected by others who have been able to elucidate with greater exactness the meaning of their many different rites and superstitions.

Certainly the most striking objects of interest in the Khāsi Hills are the upright stone monuments that are to be seen all over the country ; these, set up by the wayside, or in the villages, more frequently cutting the sky on prominent hills, with the large slabs horizontally set before them, at once recall the Druidical remains of our own island, northern France, etc., and lead one to marvel at the similarity of the custom, and to inquire its origin and design. Many who visit those hills take it at once for granted that they are the graves of illustrious men, or, after a vain endeavour to get some information from the coolies about them, let the matter rest, or finally believe that the ashes of the dead, to whose memory the monoliths are erected, are buried under the flat kind of altar or dolmen seen in front.

It is always a very difficult matter to obtain information from semi-civilised people on such a subject as their religious rites, especially if the inquirer is ignorant of their language. A slight knowledge of Hindustani on the part of the Khāsia villager, renders the attempt still more hopeless, and the information given quite erroneous.

The tall upright stones are called "Mao bynna", from "mao", a stone; "bynna", to make known, to be informed, literally a monument. They are also known by the term, "Mao shinran", the male stone, while the flat seat-like slab in front is called "Mao Kynthai", the female stone, representative of all life, being in pairs: My informant explained this by saying the monument would be imperfect without the flat stone or its female adjunct.

The ashes of the dead are never deposited under the horizontal slabs always to be seen in front of the upright sets, the monument having no connection with funeral obsequies whatever. The monument is purely one to perpetuate the memory of a person long deceased, who, as a spirit, has watched over or brought good fortune to a descendant, his family, or clan. Wealth or renown of the deceased has no connection with the size of the monument, which may be of any dimensions, from stones a foot or two and upward, but depends on the wealth of those who erect such mementos, and on the benefits the deceased has conferred after passing into the world of spirits and demons, for, according to Khāsi belief, the spirits of the dead and demons are the cause of all joy or woe—they give riches or strike with disease and death.

These monuments are not set up facing any particular point of the compass; the front is generally selected, having reference to the site and its surroundings: thus a number set up together on a hill-top will be found facing outwards, those by the wayside facing the road; however, single sets, standing on a hill-top or rising ground, as a rule, face to the southward.

The history connected with the erection of some large slabs near Cherra Poonjee will exemplify this curious custom. One of the clans, "Kūr" in Cherra, is known as the "Nongtariang"; and many years ago died an old lady of the clan, not famous for anything in particular during her lifetime, but whose virtues appear to have been great after her demise, for after this the Nongtariang clan, from being a poor one, rose gradually to considerable wealth; she, when propitiated and called on for aid, never failed her race, and in return, after some sixty years or more, they raised to her memory five well-cut stones, which are to be seen on the west side of the road between Cherra Poonjee and Surarun, the central monolith adorned with a kind of rose cut in relief on the front face, and an ornamental disc on the apex. It would appear that she still remained the guardian spirit of her clan; they continued to prosper, and as a further token to her memory, they added in 1869 five more stones on the other side of the road, and in a line with the first set.

It may very naturally be asked how descendants possibly dis-

cover what their ancestors are doing for them, and what their views and inclinations may be as regards the amount of aid they may give. To a Khasia there is no difficulty about the matter; when in distress or requiring aid of any kind, seeking omens by the breaking of eggs (which I will hereafter describe) he appeals to and propitiates any one ancestor he may select; only one or two may promise such protection, and these it may so happen have died years ago. The benefit also conferred may be very trivial, and sufficiently acknowledged by the setting up of stones of small size; on the contrary, if great favours are conferred on the wealthy we find large monoliths forming conspicuous landmarks on many a hill-top, scattered over a large area of country, and which are mostly known to the country round by the name of the individuals who have wrought so much good in their after state.

These stones are never erected in pairs or in even numbers; in counting over a very large series still perfect, I found them invariably in sets of three, five, seven, or, as I have before mentioned in the case of the Nongtariang clan, in two sets, five and five, on opposite sites, to the same individual.* Even numbers are considered unfinished or imperfect.

A reference to the plans given, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, will show the various arrangements in which the stones are set up, both in a segment of a circle and at right angles to each other, as in fig. 3. The most common form, however, is in line, fig. 4. Fig. 1 consisted of a circular platform raised about two feet, faced with rough stones on the front face. These three examples were observed on the hill of Lailang-kote, where the bazar is held, and I have not seen anywhere else the monoliths so arranged; in other parts of the country they are invariably set up in a straight row.

These monuments are also erected for such a reason as the following:—During the illness of a person, every kind of propitiation and exorcism either by the breaking of eggs, sacrifice of fowls, pigs, etc., and by the examination of the liver and viscera, having been made, and then failing to restore him; the sick man may vow that should he recover, he will erect a set of stones to one of his ancestors, who, it is presumed, on knowing of the intention, will do his best to save him.

In setting up these slabs all members of the community are under an obligation to assist on such an occasion, and are not paid for their labour, beyond receiving in the evening a little food or liquor at the dwelling of the family who have sought the aid. The skilled workmen employed on the stone-cutting are,

* Three and five are the most frequent numbers met with, nine very rare I have seen eleven.

however, regularly paid, as is done when cutting the stones for the funeral platform; while this work is in progress musicians are also entertained, and a continual beating of tom-toms (hand-drums) is kept up while the work is in progress.

That many of these monuments, and by far the larger number, are of great age, may be inferred from the fact that their history is quite lost.

As to their distribution, they are to be found over all the higher part of the range; the finest, certainly, in the central portion and in the vicinity of the larger villages, such as Cherra Poonjee, Juwai, Nurtiang, etc.

In Nongstoin, on the west, they gradually die out, and a few, not exceeding three or four feet in height, are to be found in the Khasia villages towards the Garo tribes, but at this limit the Langams come in, and their customs assimilate more with the former-named people. It is the same on the east and north-east of Jaintia; the stones set up are smaller and of rougher form, and by no means so numerous, yet they are to be seen in all kinds of out-of-the-way places quite overgrown with grass and jungle, where villages have not existed for years. Indications were not wanting, shewing that the country had been formerly much more populous, especially on the northern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. I have, on the other hand, never come across structures of the kind anywhere beyond the limits of Khasi-speaking people, that is, between longitude 91 deg. and 92 deg. 30 min., which includes the Jaintia Hills, the people of which part are called "Sintengs", differing in some minor points from the Khasis; the dialect is distinct, and there is so strong a type-form of likeness and expression, the two can be generally separated without inquiry. The same remarks hold good for the western side; a Khasi of the border Nongstoin villages can be told off at a glance: so strong are the great clan likenesses.

I have traversed the whole country on the east: viz., the North Cachar Hills, inhabited by tribes of Kookis and Nagas, and had the Khasi ever occupied permanently a larger area either on the east or west, particularly the former, emigrating, as they are supposed to have done, from that side, I think we might have expected to find, occasionally, remains of their imperishable monuments. The only exception that I know of occurs on the road from Nenglo to Hangrüng, in the North Cachar Hills district, beyond Asālu, a part of the country now in the occupation of Nagas, and formerly entirely in that of Kacharis, who are Bodos or Méchis. The road lies through forest, keeping along the high spur; at about two miles from the peak of Hemeo are to be seen several large slabs of stone nearly level with the ground, one ten feet by six, covering some sort of receptacle, for the ends of the

stones facing the sides are plainly visible. Near to these slabs is a platform with sides built up of rough stone, similar to those about Cherra Poonjee. Now Nāgas bury their dead, and no monument is erected, the graves being dug in the village street, often at the very door of the deceased person's house, all the protection and covering being a rough one of bamboo or straight sticks interwoven and neatly pegged down all round with hooked sticks. Some tribes of Kūkis bury, others burn, but I have never observed any stones set up, or used to cover the grave. There is just a possibility that the slabs on the Hemeo ridge are the remains of an old Khāsi settlement, occupied, perhaps, for a short period when on their emigration westward.

The largest collection of huge slabs and upright stones that I have seen anywhere in the Khāsi Hills, is at Lailang-kote, the arrangement is so different in every way, that there can be little doubt that it was erected for a very different purpose, and was probably a place of meeting of the chiefs and elders of the clans. The steps to ascend it would indicate such a purpose, and we can imagine all the men of rank and influence seated around, and harangued by one of their number. I could never learn the history of this structure; although I made frequent inquiries, they could not say when or by whom it was set up. The stones, especially the large horizontal one, are of great size; this, with others, is of the granite found close by, but the hill on which the structure stands is an outlier of quartzitic sandstone, horizontally stratified, and great labour must have been expended in dragging such huge blocks into their present position; for the slope to the top of the rise, though not great, yet is quite sufficient to render such work a formidable undertaking. The weight of the largest horizontal slab was twenty tons eighteen hundredweight, and of all the stones composing its construction eighty tons. The horizontal granite slabs were unhewn, as well as the highest upright monolith, which stood eighteen feet nine inches. Eight of the upright stones out of the eleven were of sandstone. The largest slab is an irregular oval in shape, thirty feet by thirteen feet in longest and shortest axis, with a mean thickness of one foot and one-third, standing nearly five feet and a-half above the ground, and resting on ten upright unhewn pillars of granite; on the south side are four other slabs arranged close to the edge of the large one, and round all rise the eleven upright pillars; on the eastern end are two other slabs forming steps to ascend by.

I give a drawing of this very curious monument with a plan, and in an appendix the measurements of every stone, and these shew better than aught else the great massiveness of the work, and what an amount of labour these people must have expended in collecting the materials and setting them in this spot.

I never saw the Khasis engaged in raising a stone into the upright position, but I saw the spars which had formed a sort of cradle on which the stones forming the monument erected by the Nongtariang clan previously alluded to had been dragged from the spot where they had been quarried. They consisted of strong curved limbs of trees roughly smoothed and rounded, and would present a very small surface to friction. These stones had been taken from the side of a hill near, and had apparently been wedged out of the face of a step in the exposed sand-stone strata.

It may be as well that I should here give some account of the funeral rites of the Khasis, which will show there is no connection between them and the monuments I have been describing, and with which the other stone erections have no doubt been often confounded. In their funeral rites there is much that is wonderfully strange, and to those unacquainted with their superstitions, appears unmeaning. There can be no doubt but the Khasis have a very strong belief in a future state, and to say that they have no religion, as has been stated by some writers, is erroneous. True, they have no temples for either worship or idols, the religion of the people is principally a demon worship, and we find the Khasi ever in communion with or in the power, as he supposes, of the spirits of those who have gone before him. While, added to these spirits of their ancestors are numberless demons, male and female, ever ready, if not propitiated, to bring evil upon himself or his undertakings, and whose power even extends over the spirits of the dead. Every dark shady wood, every stream, every conspicuous hill has its presiding demon, which in many instances gives the name to the site. Thus, the hill of Lārū, in North Jaintia, beyond Nongjinghi, is the abode of a one-legged demon, whom to see is death, but who was occasionally heard in the dense forest that clothed the northern steep face of the mountain, so said the credulous villagers of Nongtūng.

The dead are burnt on a funeral pyre, the logs of which are arranged very regularly, and the body lies in a sort of bed formed by them.

The calcined bones and ashes are collected and placed in an earthen vessel (small "ghara"), and are generally buried in some adjacent spot, a stone being placed over the vase for security; they do not, however, remain permanently in this place. Every family or clan has a separate receptacle for these remains, constructed in several ways, but always covered with a heavy slab of stone; these receptacles are called "Mao-bah," the great stone "Mao-shīng," a bone depository—lit., the "bone stone."

M. Schlagintweit has fallen into an error regarding the dolmen-shaped structures, and was not aware that this form is so

intimately connected with cremation, and that bangles and other ornaments are to be found in them. Whether such are removed from the body at the present day is a point I did not satisfactorily clear up, but which is one of interest.

You find the cromlech cuboidal form of four well-cut large stones on edge, closely fitted and surmounted by another horizontal one closing the structure. I give a drawing of a very large and striking one not far from the mission houses at Cherra; one of the sides of this has fallen and been removed, it is probably of great age, and the family is extinct. In other cases a number of rough stones are set up in a circle, crowned by a flat circular slab. I have also seen them of octagonal form, the sketch represents one in the south of Jawai, near the site of a deserted village, one of the side stones has fallen outwards, thus exposing the interior; in this I found several calcined bones and two bangles or wristlets of brass; this surprised me, for I was not aware that ornaments were left on the body on cremation; nor do I think they are at the present day. There were no traces of pottery either, and the bones had not been placed in a vessel as is the usual custom now. The structure was apparently of considerable age, and no village had occupied the site for many years.

A very general form at present of these bone receptacles is that of a heavy slab of stone, level with the ground, covering a cyst, which is lined with stones.

The bones are not consigned to these receptacles for some time, often a year or more after the burning of the body, and in no case until it has been ascertained that the soul of the deceased is at rest, and leading a life, or rather a new existence of happiness; should the whole of his family remain in health, this state is assumed to be attained, if, on the contrary, any member be afflicted with illness or pain, the spirit is understood to be restless and in want of something; the breaking of eggs is resorted to, and such may indicate that it is necessary to sacrifice a fowl or goats, and that the bones of the defunct be taken up and buried in another spot. Such removal, however, in the case of the most troublesome ghost is only done three times, and restless as he may be, the bones are then finally deposited in the family bone receptacle; man and wife are never deposited together; they belong to different clans, thus the ashes of children are placed in the receptacle of their mother's tribe to which they are considered to belong. I would here refer to the paper written by the Rev. J. Pryse in the *Calcutta Review* for 1854, p. 128, with his excellent description of a form of sacrifice. (Appendix B.)

The collection of the bones into one vault, as it may be termed, is done under the impression that the souls of the departed may

all mingle together again in one large family without trouble or suffering. The idea of a member of a family being a wanderer in the other world, cut off from, and unable to join the circle of the spirits of his own clan, is most repugnant to the feelings of a Khasi or Sinteng. Thus we find every attempt is made on the death of a man in a distant village or district to lead his spirit back with his calcined bones to his native place. For instance, should he die alone on a trading expedition into North Cachar and be buried by a tribe of some other denomination, some relation, if he can afford it, will proceed to disinter and burn the remains; such will be done years after when accident may take some relative near the place. Of this I had an interesting example in my own camp when marching from the Khasi Hills to Asālu.* While encamped at Thangnansip in North Cachar, one of my coolies (porters) came one morning and asked leave for the day for himself and some of his fellows; on asking why they wanted it at such an unusual time, when we were in the field and moving camp, he said that a relation had died in that village while on a trading speculation with dried fish and salt towards Asālu from Jawai. It appeared that the man, having got an attack of fever, had been left behind by his companions, in the hope that he would get round in a few days and then follow them; he, however, eventually died, and was buried by the Kūkis of "Kabūr." My men had with some difficulty discovered the grave (for many years had elapsed), the site of Kabūr had been changed in the interim, as is the custom of the Kukis, who seldom remain more than four years tilling the same ground, frequently not more than three, known in that part of India as "Joom cultivation"; high grass covered the old village site; the Khasia coolies, however, disinterred the remains, burnt them, and the residue was carefully preserved and sent back to Jawai, the man's native place, to be interred with the bones of his family.

When carrying the remains to the home of the deceased, not only is the greatest care bestowed on them, but the spirit is carefully considered and led onward, to prevent the possibility, as they suppose, of its wandering off the route. Leaves are occasionally plucked, and with three or four grains of rice placed on them, are deposited by the wayside as offerings. On reaching a river this is done on the bank, and sometimes when such a river is large and the abode of some powerful demon, a fowl is let loose in the jungle as an offering to the titular spirit of the stream. A most curious custom exists connected with this transporting of the soul which I have seen on several occasions. The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade

* In Crawford's embassy to Siam, we find that a similar idea prevails in that country (see Appendix C).

through water, and if they trust themselves to it would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and if the breadth is great this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the "string bridge."

On passing through some dense dark wood where it is presumed a demon may be, they think it not improbable that he may be detaining them or throwing impediments in the way, and should any of the party fall sick such is to them clearly indicated. The breaking of eggs is resorted to, or a pendulum is made by tying a stone, knife, or generally the brass box in which they keep the lime that is mixed with the betel and pan leaves, and the rite so well described by Hodgson (Appendix A) is gone through. The similarity of the Bodo or Mech custom shows how general these superstitious customs are among the tribes in this quarter. The only difference being that with the Khasi, the weight is caused to revolve in a circle should any spirit require to be propitiated, and that it should cease to revolve when the offering, either a fowl or a pig, is considered to have been accepted.

Should a Khasia lose his life in such a way that his body cannot be recovered, say by being drowned in one of the large rivers in the plains, his relations assemble on some prominent hill or rock overlooking the low country. One of the members taking some kowries (small shells used as money, *Cypræa*) in his hand, and, looking towards the site of the accident, shouts out the name of the deceased and calls on him to return; his spirit having been supposed to do so, they proceed to burn the cowries, which are symbolical of his bones, and any clothes of the deceased they may possess. The ashes of the cowries are then placed in the bone depository.

The corpse is kept in the house four or five days, occasionally longer.* In the case of chiefs of tribes, men of consequence and wealth, the body after death is preserved in honey, and kept in this way in its coffin for a very considerable period; the platform on which the body is burnt is erected during the times, and considerable expense is entailed on its construction, in cutting the stones, as well as on the expenditure of gunpowder; throughout the day explosions may be heard at irregular intervals from different quarters, now at one side, then at another to drive away

* The excessive and continuous rainfall of the Khasi Hills is not the reason why the dead are preserved in honey; it would be impossible to procure it in sufficient quantity for such a purpose. *Vide* M. Schlagintweit's paper in the "Ausland", where this is stated.

evil spirits, who I suppose they think may be hovering about the neighbourhood. Here we find a custom the counterpart of one in Burmah, where the body of a Buddhist priest of rank is embalmed in honey, and laid in state for a long period, to be afterwards blown up with powder, together with the costly hearse that bears him to the place. The same custom we find in "Crawfurd's Embassy to Siam" exists in that country.

There is some slight analogy to be traced between the funeral customs of the Khasis and Singphos, particularly in the collection of the ashes and subsequent interment. (Appendix D.)

The breaking of eggs is perhaps of all modes of seeking for an omen the most curious of all the Khasi customs, but it is by no means confined to these hill people. I am informed by Colonel McCulloch that the Kükis and some other of the numerous Hill tribes around the Muni-pūr Valley do the same; but then it is not so commonly practised, and I never myself saw them engaged at the rite. The Gāros use eggs only for sacrifice. The number broken appears unlimited, but about twenty is a common number. It depends, of course, on the means of the individuals. They use a small board about twelve inches by eight inches square, which has a projecting kind of handle with a hollow to receive the egg to be used. The position of the chips on this board indicates the luck or answers to the inquiry that is sought, and only those pieces that fall within the board, outside of the egg-shell upwards, count as signs. The egg is personified and addressed after this manner: Egg! I am only a man, am ignorant and can divine nothing; you can commune with spirits, and between man and them have intercourse. Now, say! who has done this? (in case of sickness)—who has caused this man to fall sick? If the spirit is in the house, let the signs be on the left; if out of the house, on the right. The exorcist spits on the egg, and taking some clay in his hand, smears it over, so that the outside may be distinctly seen when it is smashed. Apology is made to the egg, saying: I do not spit on you to insult you, but to clean you and give you a colour. Then standing up he throws the egg down with all his force upon the board.

It would appear that only those pieces of egg-shell that fall to the right or left are of consequence in the matter; those that fall beyond or on the off-side of where the egg strikes are the representatives of spirits that are not implicated with the matter in hand, while those that lie on the near side show that the sickness is the cause of purely natural causes, over-eating, drinking, or exposure to heat and cold, and not through the agency of any malignant spirit; such signs are of good import, and indicate (taking a case of sickness) that the person is likely to recover. Should he not do so the egg, or rather the exorcist, a professional sacrificer called "Ka Nong Kinia", or "Ka Nong Kein Ksuid",

holds his own, he can reply: What was the good of calling me in, to seek signs from eggs, when the man was past hope? I could only give you such, and say he was sure to recover.—As might be expected, the sacrificers prey on the ignorance and superstitions of the people; and it not unfrequently happens, I am told, that on one being called in, and after smashing a number of eggs, he declares that owing to previous communion with spirits in other houses, he can do nothing, and recommends that another exorcist be called in, to kill a pig or a fowl, and thus those who can afford it are made to give up as much as can be squeezed out of them.

Any member of the community, if he desires it, can learn the forms of offering, sacrifice, etc., under the instruction of those who are in the profession, and who can thus sanction and look to their due and proper performance. When they sacrifice a cow, goat, or pig, the liver is the principal part examined for omens; if it is smooth and healthy, such are good. The entrails, if full, are a propitious token; the size of the gall-bladder is another point—if small, poverty may fall on the family. Demons also are particular; some will not accept a black or coloured fowl; pure white only will suffice, and these they object often to sell.

It is often a matter of great difficulty to persuade a Khasia to take medicine, especially men from outlying villages; they quite dread it, imagining that, should they take it, some spirit, wroth at not being propitiated, may alter its properties, and thus make them much worse. I have seen a grown-up man burst into tears, and beg that medicine might not be administered, when he was lying seriously ill. They, however, soon find out the good effects of our treatment, especially that of quinine in fever, and they laugh in turn at the scruples of their more ignorant companions.

The Jaintias, or, more properly, the Sintengs, on the East, are, I think, more under the influence of their exorcists than are the Khasis, on the West. On certain occasions, individuals sacrifice a number of animals to different demons, and a great feast is held, to which numbers are invited; men, women, and children, are then arranged in large circles, each with a leaf for a plate before them, on which the meat, when dressed, is served.

There is, however, one very extraordinary custom—one, I am glad to say, confined to only a few villages in the Jaintia country—called “Tarroo”. The unfortunate individual who is presumed to be in league with a demon, in order to clear his character and be again admitted into the society of his kinsfolk, must throw everything he possesses away, even to the clothes on his body, and begin life anew. A man on whom such an accusa-

tion falls is deserted by even his wife; for all consorting with him after the fact is declared would be equally outcasts. The abuse of such a custom is unlimited; private spite must enter largely into its organisation; and it becomes a ready method of ruining an individual of whom the community may be jealous, or who is obnoxious to them. The civil authorities have with success looked with disfavour on it, and done much towards breaking the custom down. The missionaries also in *Jawai* have, no doubt, by the establishment of their small Christian colony, done much towards the same end. This system of witchcraft does not date, I am told, from a very remote period. Names of demons are from time to time invented, or rise up, and the most formidable now is a female demon, having sway over wealth, and who is connected with the superstition "tar-roo". The curse may alight on an individual in many ways, of which I give the following instances of how it acts on the community.

A person may get ill, and, as in fever, become delirious; those attending on him listen attentively to his ravings, and he may constantly take some one's name in connection with his state. This person is said to have the ear of the demoness, and to use such influence for the purpose of bewitching others.

Two persons may join in trade together, and be on the best of terms for several years; but one may have a terrible dream repeatedly, or say he has, connected with their gains; he may then accuse his partner of having obtained certain power from Tarroo.

A man, originally in poverty, rising in a very short time to be wealthy, the whole village may secretly, among themselves, point at him as having entered into a compact with this demoness; but no proof is forthcoming until some person suddenly falls ill, and apparently without cause. This sick person is questioned, and even bullied into saying that he believes the suspected person is the cause of his illness. They will proceed to throw ashes in the face of the accused, as a sign that his further acquaintance is not desired. This is a common custom, and is done to a person for other reasons, such as for stealing, or committing some heinous crime. A woman who supplants the affections of another who is a wife may have ashes thrown in her face for spoiling the husband, and is thus marked, for, of course, it is done in some public place. But, to continue, the family of the sick man next count up the number of paus that have been given by the accused during their intercourse, the number is prepared, made up into a bundle, and placed at his door during the night, and a sucking pig is killed and also left there. In the morning on the first opening of the door, the sign

is seen by the inmates, and quite as soon by the neighbours, who collect to revile and jeer the unfortunate individual; his relations leave him; his wife, if he has one, retires to her parent's or sister's home, and in no other way can he recover his position in society save by throwing away all he possesses; cash and clothes are scattered on the road as he goes out of the village, and are picked up by those who follow; his house, I was told, is also demolished, and the thatch roof carried out and burnt in the outskirts of the place.

This paper has become much longer than I had anticipated, and I fear will exhaust the interest that there may be in it. I had intended alluding to the Kūkis, Mikirs, Garos, etc., and exhibiting drawings of their burial-grounds, but this I think may be best postponed and introduced with some notes on the extension of those tribes and the people of the northern slopes of the Khasi range of hills, if this Society should think such of sufficient interest to them. I trust also that Captain Williamson, Deputy-Commissioner of the Garo Hills, now on leave in England, will give us the benefit of the valuable information I know he has obtained regarding the manners and customs of the Garo tribes, among whom he has mixed so much and so intimately.

APPENDIX A.

Paper on the Origin, Location, etc., of the Bodo, Kocch, Dhimal People, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1849. Vol. xviii, pt. ii, p. 728.—“Thirteen leaves, each with a few grains of rice upon it, are placed by the exorcist in the segment of a circle before him, to represent the deities. The Ojha squatting on his hams before the leaves causes a pendulum attached to his thumb by a string to vibrate before them, repeating invocations the while. The god who has possessed the sick man is indicated by the exclusive vibration of the pendulum towards his representative leaf, which is then taken apart, and the god in question is asked what sacrifice he requires?—a buffalo, a hog, a fowl, or a duck to spare the sufferer (the Ojha best know how?) a hog, and it is forthwith vowed by the sick man and promised by the exorcist, but only paid when the former has recovered. On recovery the animal is sacrificed, and its blood offered to the offending deity.”

APPENDIX B.

Calcutta Review, 1854, p. 128. Paper by the Rev. J. Pryse.—“The universal desire to immortalise the memory of their dead ancestors on earth by the erection of stone monuments, may be deemed as a faint indication of an expectation of some kind of future existence. The sacrifice for their dead, which they call ‘Suid-iap’, or ‘Ksuid-iap’, that is, the ghost or demon of the dead, may be considered indicative of the same notion. The professed intention of the sacrifice is to pacify the

spirit of the dead, so that it may come in the capacity of a 'Ksuid', or demon, to cause pain and calamity to the family. This sacrifice is frequently repeated after a person's death, if his bones were deposited in a small repository; but if they are placed in a large one, the fear of his injuring the family is not so great, and the sacrifice is not so frequent, because 'la buh ka niam ka rukum', the religion and customs were observed regarding him."

Extract from the Rev. J. Pryse's Paper, p. 130.—"The reader is desired to observe that this form is always pronounced, when the person on pronouncing it is in the act of offering his thankofferings; hence it was thought necessary to give a few explanations of the movements of the speaker."

"Thank Offering to Secure the Protection of the Goddess."

(The Khasia words are, "Ka jing-nguh pynskem ia ka blei"; the offering is made in order to secure the kind offices of the goddess in the future, rather than to acknowledge past kindness.)

"Attend, O Goddess, that thou mayest protect us all as a family,* that we may increase and prosper. O Goddess, we are now about to sacrifice a large cock, and a large horned goat, also a plaintain leaf, flour, baked rice, a heart, and a twig. Do thou, O Goddess, attend to us. I put up and cause to stand the offering for the purpose of appeasing thee, O Goddess.† O thou family-builder, I remove and drive away thirty demons, nine demons,‡ and Ka Tyrút Ka Smer,§ that I may prepare and set aright the intestines, that I may cut the throat of the cock, and sprinkle the blood upon the twig.|| Away, thou Ka Tyrút ka Smer! I sweep away and remove thee, that I may open a clear road for the purpose of inquiring concerning the good and the evil. Thus it is proper that I should sacrifice a large horned goat. Attend thou, O Goddess, whilst I offer to thee a member and the backbone after I shall have laid it bare and made it ready.¶ Attend thou, whilst I observe and keep the rules and customs, and whilst I offer to thee a sacrifice in order that thou mayest give us

* "All as a family", "baroh shi kur", "ka kur", is generally used among the Khasias to signify all those who are related by blood.

† Whilst saying these words, the officer prepares the place, and causes the goat, etc., to stand by the place. (See Lev. xvi, 7.)

‡ The offerer, whilst saying this, throws some rice on the ground to pacify the evil spirits, and drive them away, lest they should desecrate the sacrifice and ceremonies. "Laipen ksuid kyndai ksuid"—here neither thirty nor nine should be regarded as the exact number, but both signify any number indefinitely great; much in like manner as the number one thousand was regarded by the Jews, and as that number is occasionally used in Scripture. The phrase, "kyndai ksuid", nine demons, seems to be an old phraseology, the exact meaning of which is not known at present; but "laipen ksuid", thirty demons, is the common phrase in use to signify an indefinitely great number—it means *all*.

§ The name of one of the most powerful and malignant demons.

|| Whilst speaking thus, the offerer kills the cock, and sprinkles the blood as described above.

¶ The offerer's hands are busily employed in preparing his sacrifice whilst he utters the above speech.

health, that we may increase and prosper, that we may walk securely, that we may enjoy our possession in security, that we may carefully ameliorate our families, that we may increase in number. Do thou embrace us, do thou confide in us, do thou support us whilst we observe the rules and customs, that we may become numerous, that we may offer thee sacrifices. Come thou and receive us, receive us at thy feet, that we may spread out on the right and on the left. Come, confide in us ; come, support us ; come, envelope our spirits with thy power.*

This sacrifice is generally made by a whole Kúr or family *all related* by blood.

APPENDIX C.

Crawfurd's "Embassy to Siam", p. 19.—"Under ordinary circumstances so much importance is attached to the rite of burning the dead, that if the ceremony cannot be performed soon after death, either from poverty, or from the party dying at a distance, the body is first buried, and afterwards, as soon as convenient or practicable, disinterred and consigned to the funeral pile. Of persons of distinction, a few of the bones are kept, and either preserved in urns in the houses of their relations, or buried, with little pyramidal monuments over them, in the ground adjacent to the temples. Of these monuments we saw a good number: they are small and paltry, without any inscription.

APPENDIX D.

-W. Griffith's "Journals", p. 75.—"Close to the village are the burying-places of two Singphos. These have the usual structure of the cemeteries of the tribe, the graves being covered by a high conical thatched roof. I find, from Bayfield, that they first dry their dead, preserving them in odd-shaped coffins until the drying process is completed ; they then burn the body, afterwards collecting the ashes, which are finally deposited in the mounds over which the conical sheds are erected," etc., etc.

APPENDIX E.

Burning the Dead, etc.—"The practice of preserving dead bodies in honey has not arisen, as M. Schlagintweit states, from the extremely wet season experienced at Cherra. Bodies are burnt throughout the rains, as I have witnessed. Men of rank or wealth are treated in the above way, and are often kept thus preserved during the whole of the dry cold weather, and not burnt until a propitious time has been selected. The custom, no doubt, has been derived from its Eastern source."

* Mr. Pryse remarks : "However devoid of sense or puerile the traditional and unwritten literature of the Khasis may be considered, the writer is not sure that he is able to elicit much more sense from many parts of the much talked of literature of the Vedas and Puranas of the Hindu sages," and he offers a specimen from the Sanhita.

Memoranda of Size and Height of the Stones composing the Monument at Lailangkote, Khāsi Hills (from careful measurement of same).

UPRIGHT STONES OF GRANITE.

	Cubic feet.	Total, cubic feet.
No. 1=13ft. 10in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in.=83·0		
3=18ft. 9in. × 3ft. 6in. × 9in.=49·2		
10=11ft. 2in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 0in.=44·7		
		176.9

UPRIGHT STONES OF SANDSTONE.

2=18ft. 6in. × 3ft. 4in. × 1ft. 8in.=104·7	
4=12ft. 6in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 8in.= 63·8	
5= 9ft. 0in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in.= 40·5	
6= 8ft. 3in. × 2ft. 4in. × 9in.= 14·4	
7=10ft. 9in. × 4ft. 8in. × 1ft. 2in.= 58·6	
8= 9ft. 6in. × 2ft. 9in. × 1ft. 2in.= 30·6	
9=10ft. 9in. × 2ft. 6in. × 2ft. 2in.= 58·4	
11=12ft. 5in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in.= 46·7	
	417.7
	594·6

THE LARGEST FLAT STONE OF GRANITE.

Greatest length, 30ft. 4in. ; breadth, 10ft. ; and mean thickness, about 1 foot : measured by co-ordinates laid off from a central line, at 2 feet apart, with the thickness at edge. Total of cubic feet in mass 329·0.

FLAT STONES ON SOUTHERN SIDE, AND THE TWO STEPS.

	Mean breadth.	Mean length.	Mean thickness.	Cubic feet.
No. 1=6ft. 0in. × 8ft. 4in. × 8ft. 0in.=33·0				
2=5ft. 8in. × 9ft. 8in. × 1ft. 6in.=82·0				
3=5ft. 2in. × 9ft. 9in. × 1ft. 4in.=67·0				
4=5ft. 1in. × 7ft. 2in. × 1ft. 4in.=49·0				
5=9ft. 3in. × 5ft. 8in. × 1ft. 0in.=52·0				
6=3ft. 2in. × 5ft. 8in. × 8in.=12·0				

295·0 cubic feet.

The specific gravity of granite being taken at 2·6, or 163 lbs., the weight of the Lailangkote granite by experiment, we have for the weight of the largest flat stone, 329 cubic feet=tons 23 : 18 : 3·7 ; for the other six, 295 cubic feet=tons 21 : 9 : 1·9.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. CHARNOCK said the "Asiatic Researches" for the year 1828 contained a short paper by a Mr. Walters on the Khāsi (Cāsias). The paper in question, which related to the village of Supar-Punji, also contained drawings of certain stone monuments ; among others, four large circular stones standing together. They were only a few feet

high, with a smooth surface, and resembled trees cut down; but it did not appear for what purpose they were used. Mr. Walters stated that the uprights and stone doors referred to in the paper were monuments to the memory of deceased rajahs and chiefs; that the upright slabs of granite were detached from the rock by means of fire; and that the dead bodies of the Khāsi are burned at an appointed place, and the ashes placed in earthen pots, which are deposited under the stones. He (Dr. Charnock) doubted the suggested derivation of the name of the tribe. If derived from the Hindústānī, it could not be very ancient. The chief interest in the paper lay in the fact that the Khāsi erect these monuments at the present day.

Sir DUNCAN GIBB said there was a feature of some interest in the author's very interesting paper, and that was the statement that the stones of the megalithic remains described by him were obtained from quarries of sandstone not far distant from the place in which they were erected. Now, this point he looked upon as of considerable importance, because it so readily explained the comparative facility of transport of such huge masses of stone as entered into the construction of the monument described. In this country the most diverse opinions prevailed as to the locality whence the stones were obtained composing such monuments as are found at Stonehenge, Aylesbury, and other places, and he thought the author had added to the value of his paper by giving accurate details as to the locality whence the stone was obtained, composing the remarkable monuments so graphically illustrated; nevertheless, as a geologist, he should like to know from the author to what formation these sandstones belonged.

Col. A. LANE FOX thought the Institute might be congratulated upon the paper which they had just heard, which was one of the most important contributions to anthropology that had been received for some time past. It was impossible to overrate the value of the details of the manners and customs which Major Godwin Austin had given, and which were associated with the erection of these megalithic monuments at the present time. They might at some future time serve as links of evidence in interpreting the object of similar monuments in other times and places. The great problem before the Institute, he thought, was how far the builders of these monuments in our own time might be regarded as the representatives of those who erected them in the prehistoric period of Europe, or how far the monuments themselves might be regarded as survivals from the prehistoric age. The geographical distribution of these monuments, as he had before shown in the *Ethnological Journal*, was continuous, or nearly so, extending from those Kassias in the north-east of India to Central India, Persia, Asia Minor, the Crimea, along the north coast of Africa bordering the Mediterranean. They are found in Etruria, up the south and west coast of France into Britain, and as far as Denmark and Sweden. In so far as our present knowledge enabled us to judge, they were unknown in Russia proper, in Northern Asia, in Central and Southern Africa, and on the two continents of America, with the exception of Peru. Their continuous geographical distribu-

tion extending from our own country to the country of these Kassias was in favour of the view that their erection might be a practice handed down by them from the remotest time ; and this gave great additional interest to the study of the customs of the people who built them. Evidence of great antiquity of these monuments in India was wanting ; most of those examined in Central India have been found to be associated with implements of iron ; but it had been shewn that iron in the soil in that country would be preserved for ages, and there was no knowing how far back the use of this metal might have extended. There was one peculiar custom which in Europe, Africa, and Russia appeared to have nearly the same geographical distribution as those monuments, and which was sometimes associated with them ; he alluded to the custom of placing pieces of rags upon trees at holy wells and elsewhere as a cure for diseases, and he should like to ask Major Austin whether this custom prevailed amongst these Kassias or in their neighbourhood.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE observed that Colonel Fox had just enumerated the geographical region of megalithic monuments, and this was precisely the region described in his paper on the Caucaso-Tibetans. The areas are coincident. The Khasias are seated among tribes, which have linguistic affinities with Georgian and Palæogeorgian. The present Khasias cannot, however, be considered as *in situ* in reference to the ancient migration connected with the stone monuments of the Dekkan, but are a subsequent migration. The connection of traditions between Khasias, etc., and Burmah is simply because they are obtained from a common centre in High Asia. Among the many valuable facts is that of the male and female stones, and the numbers of these are, perhaps, also male and female. The numbers three and seven signify middle. In two cases where eleven occur they are arranged as six and five. The male stones are more numerous than the female, and may have some relation to polyandrous notions. Egg divination may possibly have its metaphysical basis in the relations which exist in many languages in the form of words for eye (eage) and egg. Major Austen's testimony to the moral qualities of the hill tribes is of value. Dr. Hunter, hon. member Anthropological Institute, has pointed out in his *Rural Life in Bengal* that it is on the hill tribes we must greatly rely for the invigoration of our Indian empire.

Mr. W. C. DENDY : The great merit of this paper is that it is written by a careful observer who was an eye-witness of all which he describes ; one such narrative is worth a volume of compilations. In our own region the megalith is a relic of very ancient date, the record, perhaps, of a semi-barbarous race, and all account of them is usually speculative and conjectural. In the east we learn there are kistvaens and cromlechs and dolmens of recent date, the constructors of which are yet in existence, and an inquiry into their history may elucidate by analogy some of the obscurity that has yet clouded our own megalithic monuments. Choir Gawr or Stonehenge is composed of several sorts of rock, blue stone and marble, sand and granitic : why is this variety of selection ? Among Major Austen's sketches there is

one of a beautiful megalithic temple, and he alluded to male and female stones. May this variety of quality and colour in the stones be symbolical of idol or astral or planetary worship? In Asia, it seems, these relics are chiefly within a certain latitude forming a belt from Oceania to the Mediterranean, the zone, indeed, of the anthropomorphous simiæ; and we have accounts of the relics of Asiatic pigmies discovered in and around one of these cromlechs not remote from the Khasi Hills. Remembering the influence of climate on both mind and body, it might be interesting to inquire how far a superstitious psychology may be an ethnic trait among the less accomplished orientals.

Dr. A. Campbell, Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. J. W. Flower, Dr. Seemann, Mr. E. B. Tylor, Mr. Wake, and the Chairman, also took part in the discussion.

Dr. W. A. PECHEY contributed the following Vocabulary, with notes thereon, of the Cornu tribe of Australia:—

The territory of the Cornu blacks is on the south bank of the river Darling, from its junction with the Bogan to Toralie, which is about sixty miles further down the Darling, and with an average width of five to seven miles back from the river.

NOTE.—The hyphens only divide the syllables, they do not mean any pause. When the *g*'s are hard, they are printed in italics. All the rest are soft. The words are spelt as they are sounded.

Sun,
Moon,
Stars (collectively),
Milky way,*
Magellan's clouds,†
Black hole in milky way,‡
Southern cross,§
Pointers to ditto,||
Day,
Night,
Yesterday,
Long time ago,
God,¶

You-ko.
Pre-tella.
Poor-li.
Parra-wortoo.
Butter-bir-ruka.
Cultah.
Keen-dah.
Niké.
Murn-ké.
Tun-ka.
Carroo-coona.
Can-dun-ki.
Cool-a-booro.

* Supposed by the Cornu tribe to be another river, on the banks of which, after death, they rise again as white men. They point out places in the milky way, which represent parts of the River Darling, as the native fishery, etc.

† Two old black women who, for some misdeeds, were sent to the skies as a warning.

‡ This they call the emu; the name is the same.

§ Called the Cockatoo; name the same.

|| The snake.

¶ I am not at all certain what is expressed by this word, except that it means the master of all the blacks and created things; of his good or evil attributes, I am ignorant. In Corroborries, for rain, etc., this is the power they invoke or hope to appease.

Devil,*	Booree.
Thunder,	Prindah.
Warm, hot,	Poort-gè.
Cold,	Pondingella.
Near,	Weep-ah.
Far off,	Poor-i-carry.
Camp,	Yap-perrah.
Good,	Can-gella.
Yes,	N-yeë.
No, not,	Na-ta.
Large,	Wirtoo.
None,	Keel-dah.
What,	Min-nah.
Me,	Nup-pah.
Mine,	Neara.
Morning,	Won-gon-gola.
Middle of day,	Parena.
Evening,	Youko bin-cau-not.
Where, which way,	Win-gerra.
There, that way,	Wir-ta.
Up the river,	Womba.
Down the river,	Thurnga.
The river,	Park-ah.
Water,	No-ko.
Fire,	Curlah.
Earth, dirt,	Murndi.
Wind,	Yer-too.
Cloud,	Mindyah.
Hungry,	Yarn-gi.
Thirsty,†	Keel-da tongalla.
Blood,	Carndarah.
An old man,	Mur-tah.
A young man,	Cul-tah.
Old woman,	Par-ruk.
Young woman,	Cum-bulla.
Child (of either sex),	Pur-lu.
Child (female),	Chi-cun-go.
Spear,	Cal-car-roo.
Boomerang,	Worn-ah.
Engraving on ditto,	Mooroo.
Tomahawk (stone or iron),	Tharinga, wal-ka-ka.
Eliman,‡	Wool-oom-burra.
Nulla-nulla,§	Poon-di.
Hunting-stick,	Poon-goola.
To throw a boomerang,	Welka.
" a spear,	Punda (imperative).
Hit him! hit him! spear him!(imp.)	Purta! purta! punda!
Kangaroo,	Thirl-ta.
Grey Phalangista,	Yarn-gi, coll.
Emu,	Culta.
Kangaroo rat,	Curti.
Shingle lizard,¶	Calerti, tartar-book.

* I am by no means sure that this is a pure Cornu word: the blacks are afraid to call the spirits of evil by their names. The *Papilio Eretheus* is supposed to follow one of the evil spirits (*Yau-ta-muck-e gah*) about like a dog; and when the butterfly is seen the evil spirit is not far off.

† More properly, "I have nothing to drink."

‡ The little shields, made either of hard wood or bottle-tree, with which they defend themselves.

§ A stick, with a knob at the end, which is carved in squares.

|| Opossum.

¶ *Grus giganticus*.

Native companion,
 Pelican,
 Duck,
 Unio (shell-fish),
 Crayfish,
 Shrimp (from river),
 Red-bill,
 Fly,
 Hornet,
 Black cockatoo,
 White ditto (sulphur crest),
 Centipede,
 Snake,
 Iguana,
 Frog,
 Large green frog,
 Moths,*
 Bush mouse,
 Dog,
 Rose cockatoo,
 Common hawk,
 Swallow,
 Fish (collectively),
 Bullock,
 Bush rat,†
 Soldier bird,
 Small red-backed parrot,
 Crested shrike,
 Spotted ground dove,‡
 Striped ditto ditto,§
 Small cormorant,||
 Spotted bower bird,¶
 Small shrike,**
 Small parrot,††
 Darter,‡‡
 Brown owl,
 Small mantis,
 Butterflies,
 Trees (large gum trees),
 Small trees (scrub),
 Rolly polly,§§
 Wild cress,
 Possum cloak,
 Feathers,
 Mistletoe,
 Melania (fresh water shells),
 Plenty,
 Egg of bird,
 Egg-shell,
 Egg (meat of),

Curlo-coo.
 Noncarroo.
 Won-gon-ga.
 Nilli-ke.
 Congoola.
 Coopo-boutea.
 Too-laroo.
 Wingaroo, mokere.
 Win-ger-tee.
 Teero.
 Cain-dah.
 Uregarica.
 Niké.
 Tarcoolo.
 Ponbolla.
 Ponbongi.
 Curl-cum-bullet.
 Counder-oun-parilick.
 Carle.
 Keelambah.
 Cook-qua.
 Nin-bimbé.
 Wunga.
 Girdal.
 Coom-pannah.
 Mater-matook.
 Pun-er-outool.
 Peegetilla purtiga.
 Coberthew.
 Murrah-bundera.
 Callour-gah.
 Wall-turtah.
 Pine-pip-ararle.
 Curla-wongo-lingé.
 Peelah.
 No-go.
 Coula-muckuka.
 Bil-bil luka.
 Comballa.
 Kirrara.
 Thiuge-liuge.
 Parnuk.
 Nurli.
 Milé-tee.
 Tinemo.
 Neenma.
 Noberta.
 Won-darté.
 Karrah.
 Poorné.

* Of the genus *Cossus* and its allies, both the moths and their larvæ are eaten by the blacks, and are considered delicacies.

† *Phascogale pennicillata*.

‡ *Geopelia*.

§ *Geopelia tranquilla* (Gould).

|| *Phalacrocorax leucogaster* (Gould).

¶ *Chlamydodera maculata* (Gould).

** *Oreocera cristata* (Gould).

†† *Euphemia pulchilla* (Gould).

‡‡ *Plotus Novæ Hollandiæ* (Gould).

§§ A chenopodaceous plant, which grows into a rough spherical form, and, when dry, is torn up and driven over the plains by the wind. They are sometimes two or three feet in diameter, and frighten horses as they roll about.

Horn,
Bones,
To cook,
Tired (I'm tired),
Get up (from lying down),
To cry,
Come on ; come, come,
Seize it,
Sit down,
Walk about,
Run,
Sit down,
Give,

Nulgah-nulgah.
Prindah.
Noah.
Emer colla.
Tingerré.
Neera.
Keerathau, keera keera.
Wortoo.
Thururé.
Thurné.
Cal-ya-cal.
Neengo-colla.
Nooko.

PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY.

Head,
Hair of head,
Forehead,
Eyes,
Eyelash,
Nose,
Septum of nose,
Stick for nose,
Nostrils,
End of nose,
Mouth,
Lips,
Upper lip,
Tongue,
Teeth,
Beard,
Ear,
Neck,
Larynx,
Chest,
Breastbone,
Breasts,
Throat,
Saliva,
Belly,
Navel,
Penis,
Thirta-walla.
Tarter-burlike.
Merry.
Maki.
Paku muller.
Mendi mullar.
Pinga.
Minde-ara.
Worldy.
Menda murroo.
Yelka.
Min-mi.
Moornoo.
Tarra-langi.
Mindí.
Worka-bulki.
Uré.
Poomba.
Purla-lamba.
Nambi.
Tongoroo.
Namma.
Pernba.
Niléka.
Moon-dah.
Wor-lun-gora.
Mendi.

Testicles,
Female ext. org.
Perineum,
Anus,
Back,
Groin,
Shoulders,
Arm,
Right arm,
Left do.,
Forearm,
Elbow,
Hand,
Armpit,
Thumb,
Nails,
Buttocks,
Back of thigh,
Front of thigh,
Knee,
Leg,
Heel,
Sole of foot,
Top of foot,
Foot,
Toes,

Calla-burlé.
Pullé.
Munta.
Titté.
Multo-buna.
Nurloo.
Kurta.
Thurgti.
Nouranga.
Yourngoa.
Mern-coo.
Coopa.
Murrah.
Ka-kin-yah.
{ Coon-did-ana-
munk.
Murlingé.
Coo-noo.
Theelda.
Monka.
Tingee.
Tingoo.
Wirta.
Poonda-deena.
Thirna deena.
Tidnah.
Whicha wichera.
Meeka.

Marks tatooed on back, Ninka.

Sick, ill.

NAMES OF TRIBES.

Darling Blacks below the junction of the Bogan for twenty or thirty miles, *Cornu*.

Tribe above the junction of the Bogan to the native fishery at Breewar-rina, *Parran-binye*.

Tribes inhabiting the Mulgah scrubs, back from the river, and regarded with the most abject terror by the river blacks, *Mamba*.

Tribes on Namoi River, *Cam-ell-eri*.

What do you say ?
I cannot see it,
Give me plenty of water,
Make a great fire,
I cannot hear it,
To ease oneself,
Where is there water ?
Where is the camp ?
I want to make water,

Minnah owl parra-indu.
Na ta kela mortu.
Nooko noko noberta.
Wurndi curlah wirtoo.
Kela calerti na-ta.
Keeleo.
Wingera noko.
Wingera yappera.
Thurree tarné yippa.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. CHARNOCK said: According to Dr. Pechey, the territory of the Cornu blacks is on the north bank of the Darling, from its junction with the Bogan to Toralie, which is about sixty miles further down the former river. He, Dr. Charnock, had compared the present vocabulary with that of the Woolner, spoken in North Adelaide, and also with Mr. Taplin's comparative list of words in seventeen languages spoken in Southern, Eastern, and Western Australia. The Cornu vocabulary contained a hundred and eighty-five words, the Woolner two hundred and thirty, Mr. Taplin's list only seventy-one. The words in the three vocabularies differed considerably. Only three Cornu words agreed to any extent with those in the Woolner: twenty-four words in the Cornu are found in some form or other in one or more of the languages in Mr. Taplin's list. Of these, seventeen agree with the languages spoken by the Marouras of the Lower Darling, nine with those in Blanchewater, eight with the Adelaide and Moorundee tribes of South Australia respectively, seven with the tribes of Lake Kipperamana, six with that of the Narrinyeri tribes, and four with the languages of Moreton Bay, north of Darling, Lake Macquarie, Parnkalla, and Swan River respectively. All the rest are under four. The two highest have an affinity with eleven, the lowest with only one language. The Cornu word *prindah* appeared to be used for both *thunder* and *bones*. Under *Parra-wortoo*—the Milky Way—the author of the Vocabulary made the following remark, "Supposed by the Cornu tribe to be another river, on the banks of which after death they rise again as white men. They point out places in the Milky Way which represent part of the Darling as the native fishery, etc."; and under *Butter-bir ruka*—Magdalen Clouds—Dr. Pechey says, "two old black women, who, for some misdeeds, were sent to the skies as a warning." Dr. Pechey gives a word for God (*Cool-a-booro*), and for Devil (*Booree*), which are not found in the two other vocabularies. Under the word for "God", he says, "I am not at all certain what is expressed by this word, except that it means the 'Master of all the Blacks and created things'; of his good or evil attributes I am ignorant. In Corroborries, for rain, etc., this is the power they invoke or hope to appease"; and under the word for Devil, he says, "I am by no means sure that this is a pure Cornu word. The blacks are afraid to call the spirits of evil by their names. The *Papilio Erectheus* is supposed to follow one of the evil spirits (*Yan-ta-muck e-gah*) about like a dog, and when the butterfly is seen, the evil spirit is not far off."

The following paper was then read:

CHINESE MOHAMMEDANS. By JOHN ANDERSON, M.D., F.L.S.,
Indian Museum.

THE earliest notice of the introduction of Mohammedanism into China reaches back as far as A.D. 757.* Sutsung, the then reigning prince of the Gung dynasty, was hard pressed by a

* Yule, "Cathay, and the Way thither." I regret I have not had an opportunity to consult this book.

powerful rebel, but, while in deep difficulties, an embassy from the Caliph Aboo Joffir al Mansoor, the founder of Bagdad, accompanied by auxiliary troops, fortunately arrived to his assistance and enabled him to defeat the rebel. These auxiliaries, however, appear to have given him a good deal of trouble, for we find that they pillaged the eastern capital Soyang and sacked Canton on their way to embark for their homes. But they never left China, for they discovered, on their arrival among their trading fellow countrymen at this town, that they were despised for their having so long associated with a swine-eating infidel population.

The reign of Tetsung, Sutsung's grandson, was nearly as unsettled, and there was nothing to be heard of but insurrections, and he was forced to augment his army by a great number of fresh troops, some of which were received from the Abbaside caliph, and to maintain which he had to double his taxes and impose one on tea.

The account given of China by the two Mohammedan travellers, Wahab and Abuzaid,* who arrived at Canfu or Canton in the middle of the ninth century, would lead us to conclude that the country had long been resorted to by Arab teachers. Even in those early times, the Arab community of Canton was one of considerable importance, for it had a judge or kadi appointed over it by the Emperor of China, and the Mohammedan, Jewish, and Parsee population massacred in 877 amounted to 120,000.

It has been stated,† however, but on what authority I have not been able to discover, that the Arabs were acquainted with China even before this period, and that they had visited it by land as early as the reign of Walid (708), who sent an embassy with valuable presents to the Emperor by way of Kashgar.

Mohammedanism was little known among the Tartars before the time of Chengiz Khan, but his conquests were the means of introducing a considerable Turkish population of Oaijours and Toonganees into the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. The former tribe had abjured Buddhism about two centuries and a-half before the conquest of China by the Tartars. The religious life, and indeed the individuality as a race of these new comers, was kept alive by the vigorous teaching and political intercourse that subsisted in these early times between China and their mother country, and other Mohammedan lands to the west.

With this large increase of Mohammedan population to that already introduced by the Arab traders and the contingents of the Abbaside caliphs, it is not to be wondered that the distinguished traveller, Marco Polo, was struck, when he visited China in 1271-1294, with the number of Mohammedans. In his

* "Ancient Accounts."

† "Chinese Repository," vol. iii, p. 109.

description of the people on the western verge of Shensi, where the celebrated mart of Segui (the Selui of Pallas) was situated, on the way between Tibet and Peking, in his account of the city of Signgan, the capital of the province, and of Karaian, part of Yunan, he describes the Mohammedans as forming a considerable part of the foreign population, but does not offer any opinion as to when they were introduced into the empire.

The position which this religious sect had attained in China, during his time (the reign of Kublai Khan) was considerable, for Polo informs us that the provincial governments and magistracies were entrusted to the Tartars, Christians, and Mohammedans. The latter, however, misabused their trust so much that the Emperor, reflecting on the principles of these accursed Saracens, forbade them to continue many practices conjoined on them by their laws. This interdict, however, does not appear to have affected their loyalty, for we find them praying for the welfare of the Great Khan on his birthdays, and some of their leading men, in accordance with Chinese principles of religious toleration, were advanced to positions of considerable trust in the civil, military, and scientific departments of the empire. For many years the Emperor's first Minister of Finance was an Arab, and we find the invasion of Burmah, and the sieges of Signgan and Fautching entrusted to Mohammedan generals, and another of their sect advanced to the distinguished office of President of the Mathematical Board.

With facts like these, and others of a similar nature which might be adduced, we have ample evidence to show that they had gained a firm hold in many parts of China by Marco Polo's time, more especially in the provinces of Shensi, Kansu, and Yunan.

Ibn Batuta is our next authority on the extent to which they had increased about the middle of the fourteenth century. He reached China by sea, and states that in every large town he found Mohammedans who were generally rich merchants, and that in all the provinces there was a town for them, and that each had usually a mosque, market, a cell for the poor, and sheikh Il Islam, and that in some districts they were exceedingly numerous.

Rusheedooddeen, the vizier of the Persian empire, in the early part of the fourteenth century, particularises Yunan province, and states that the inhabitants were all Mohammedans.*

The Jesuit fathers who were in China about the middle of the seventeenth century make frequent mention of the Mohammedan population. Lewis le Comte,† writing to the Lord Cardinal de

* "Edinburgh Review," 1868, p. 359.

† Le Comte, "Hist. of China," pp. 339, 341.

Bouillon (1680 A.D.), mentions that they had been about six hundred* years in the country, and that they were never disturbed because they never disturbed anyone else on the score of religion, but quietly enjoyed their liberty without studying to propagate their doctrine even by intermarriages out of their own kindred. At that time they were not considerable enough for either their number or wealth to have any such views,† and even in places where they were most numerous and made the best figure, as in the provinces to the north, where they had been settled for many generations, and in some of the towns along the canal, where they had built high mosques differing entirely from Chinese ideas of architecture, they were still looked upon as of foreign extraction, and had frequently been insulted by the Chinese.

The oppression to which they were subjected after the second Tartar conquest began to show itself so early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the populace in the city of Hang-chew, in the province of Huquang, upon some dislike taken at the indiscreet behaviour of some of them, destroyed the mosques, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the magistracy to prevent it. The earlier incident, however, about 1651, when they were deprived by the Tartar Emperor Shunchi of the high honours they had enjoyed for nearly three hundred years, in connection with the tribunal of Mathematics, seems to have inaugurated that change of policy that drove the Mohammedans to open rebellion in after years. The first of these occurred in 1765 or 1767, on the western frontier (Yunan?), in the reign of Keen-lung, and spread also to the province of Kansu. The rebels resisted the imperial forces with great valour, but were ultimately subdued.

The Abbé Grosier,‡ writing after this event, but without reference to it, says that for some time past the Mohammedans seem to have been more particularly attentive to the care of extending their sect and propagating their doctrine, a course which appears to me to have been forced upon them in order to enable them to withstand the oppression from which they were evidently suffering at the time the Abbé wrote. As the breach widened between them and their Tartar governors—for they appear to have been always on good terms with the Chinese—they became so exclusive that they would not suffer anyone to live among them who did not attend mosque.

The method they now resorted to to add to their number of the faithful was, not the rallying cry of the west, *deen deen*, but

* Du Halde, "China," vol. i, p. 678.

† "Universal History," vol. iii, pp. 122-123.

‡ Grosier, "China," vol. ii, p. 270.

the free use of their wealth in purchasing children, whom they circumcised and educated as Mohammedans. In the frightful famine which devastated the province of Quang-ting, in 1790, they purchased ten thousand children from poor parents compelled by necessity readily to part with them; and these they educated, and as they grew up provided wives for, and gave them houses, and even formed whole villages of these bought converts.* This system is still prevalent in Yunan and Ghad, numerous instances of it being brought under my notice while at Momien, the most westerly stronghold of the Panthays.

The native officer in charge of the police guard, a most rigid Mohammedan, was accompanied by his Burmese wife, and owing to his intimate acquaintance with the ceremonial details of their religion, was in great vogue among the Panthays. He was childless, and accordingly a little Chinese girl, who had been lately purchased from poor parents, was made a Mohammedan and given him as an heir, as one of the most appropriate gifts they could think of making in return for the many prayers he had offered up for them in their mosque.†

Gutzlaff‡ mentions that during his residence in China (1825-1832) they had several mosques in Che Keang, Pi chi le, Shensi, and Kansu, but that, as they had occasionally joined the rebels of Turkistan, the government viewed them with a jealous eye. Nevertheless, some of their community were in offices of high trust. Notwithstanding the great distance they live from the native country of the prophet, Gutzlaff informs us that many of them made pilgrimages to Mecca, and returned with Arabian manuscripts and wonderful stories about the grave of Mohammed; that a few could read Arabic imperfectly, and perhaps repeat the first Sura;

* Du Halde, vol. i, p. 678.

† Yunan appears to have been the scene of almost incessant insurrection from 1817 to 1834, wholly attributable, in all probability, to the Mohammedans. The first rebellion lasted from 1817 to 1818, when the rebels seem to have had some organisation, for they attacked the capital, in which the Chinese commander had shut himself up. A force, however, coming to his assistance, he routed the rebels, who sought refuge among the tribes on the western frontier, leaving their leader in the hands of the Imperialists. A proclamation was issued, promising the tribes protection if they discountenanced the rebels, and threatening them with destruction if they harboured them. The Peking gazettes notice a disturbance on the western frontier of Yunan in 1826, and another in the following year. A more serious revolt broke out in the same quarter in 1828, and the leader had an imperial seal engraved, under which he published manifestoes on the frontier and Cochin China, inviting people to join his standard. This rebellion, however, was also suppressed. The Governor of Yunan quelled another revolt in 1826, and again in 1834, and the gazettes contain notices of other disturbances in the province. In none of these documents, however, is it stated that these rebellions were due to the Mohammedans, although it is highly probable that they were.—“Chinese Repository”, vol. iv, p. 490, et seq.

‡ Gutzlaff's “China”, vol. ii, pp. 199-200.

that they were by no means bigoted or proselytising, or scrupulous in the ancestral rites and venerating Confucius.

In the present century they appear to have increased more rapidly in Yunnan than in any other province to the north, and the population appears to be possessed of considerable trading enterprise. Caravans from Yunnan visit Mandalay regularly once a-year, and Colonel Burney* relates that in 1831 almost the whole of the Chinese traders to that city were Mohammedans, a circumstance that struck him as very extraordinary. The few only who imported hams were not Mohammedans, all the rest were regular Mohammedans refusing to eat with the Burmese, and killing their meat according to Mohammedan rites. Several of them, he relates, could read a little Arabic, and one in a loud chanting voice read a passage to him from some religious book in that language. They could, however, give him no account of the time when, or the manner in which, they were converted to the faith.

The first detailed account of the Mohammedans of Yunnan who have given rise to these remarks was communicated by Major-General Fytche,† on information partly supplied by Major Sladen, the Resident at the Court of Mandalay, and procured by General Fytche himself from a few Panthay traders he had met at Moulmein. This communication has since been the subject of an able article in the *Edinburgh Review*‡ on Western China, in which the facts in General Fytche's paper have been reproduced and commented on.

Two accounts of the origin of the Mohammedans were given, one derived from Chinese, and the other from Panthay sources. The former has about it all the air of circumstantiality, but the latter is overladen with the mythical and oriental trappings of a religious tradition, but when divested of these it appears to be identical, to all practical purposes, with the Chinese narrative which may be briefly stated as follows:—About one thousand years ago a rebellion threatened the safety of the government of the reigning Emperor Oung Loshau, who sent for assistance to a Mohammedan king, called Razee, or Khazee, who governed the countries to the east of China. The appeal was successful, and a body of ten thousand fighting men was despatched to his aid, and the rebellion was quelled. A new difficulty now presented itself, as to the disposal of the contingent, which was much reduced in numbers, and because the members of it refused to return to their own country, as they had learned that they would be despised on their return, on account of their long association

* "Gleanings of Science", vol. iii, p. 184.

† "As. Soc. Proc.", 1867, p. 176.

‡ "Edinburgh Review", cxxvii, p. 357.

with a swine-eating population. They were, therefore, sent to the province of Yunan, where they settled and became peaceful subjects of the Chinese empire.

With these facts before us, our first endeavour is to identify the dynasty in which these events are said to have occurred, but a difficulty meets us in the very outset of the inquiry, for the first part of the so-called Emperor's name is not that of any Chinese dynasty we know of, and the difficulty increases when we come to the name itself, for there is no name in history of an emperor called Loshan. We find ourselves in equal perplexity when we attempt to locate the King of Razu or Khazu. I am, therefore, inclined to suspect that General Fytche's informant had little acquaintance with their early history, a suspicion which is fully borne out by the information I received from Susakon and the Hadji at Momien,* which has this to recommend it, that it agrees with the records of the Chinese dynasties, as given by Du Halde and other Jesuit fathers, whose materials, I suppose, were derived from the Imperial chronicles.

My informants stated that their forefathers came from Arabia to China a thousand years ago, in the reign of the Emperor Tung-Hwone-tsung, who had sent his chief minister, Kanzu, to Seejoogmet to implore aid against the rebel Unloshan, and that they numbered three thousand men.†

When we compare the leading facts in this statement with Du Halde's narrative of the Gung dynasty, to which Hwonetsung belonged, we cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable agreement between the two accounts, although the historian of China makes no allusion whatever to the employment of an Arab contingent in the suppression of the rebellion.

Du Halde writes the name of the Emperor Tung-hion-tsung, but the similarity to Gung-hwone-tsung is so great that we cannot question their identity, especially when we consider them in conjunction with the events recorded by the historian and my informants. The former records that Hion-tsung was a prince of singular temperance and zeal for the public good, but that, in the last fourteen years of his reign, the Empire was disturbed by an insurrection which had been raised by a foreign prince, Ngaun-

* I may state that I took the precaution to write all my questions, and to have them translated into Chinese; and that each question had its answer written opposite to it; and that the answer was founded solely on the original questions, which were put pointedly: *e.g.*, In the reign of what emperor did the Panthays arrive in China? *Ans.*, In the reign of Tung-hwone-tsung.

† Major Sladen obtained, unknown to me, a short document, giving an account of the introduction of the Mohammedans into China, agreeing in every particular with the above account, which I procured quite independent of Major Sladen, or any printed document, and direct from the Governor and Hadji.

loshan, to whom he had entrusted the command of his army. This traitor made himself master of a great part of the north, and ultimately routed the Imperial army; and a company of robbers, encouraged by these disasters, also attacked it, and compelled the Emperor to seek safety in the province of Sechuen. After his retreat, Sotsung, his son, took possession of the government, although his father was still alive; and, with the aid of his prime minister, Ko-tsû-i, he dispersed the robbers, restored public tranquillity, bringing his father back from Sechuen to his palace. Ngau-loshan, however, does not appear to have been quelled, for we are informed that he looted the palace of Chang-ngau. In the end, his treachery to his king did not go unpunished, for he perished by the hand of his own son.

If there can be little difference of opinion about the similarity of Hion-tsung and Hwone-tsung, there must surely be quite a little regarding the identity between Ngau-loshan and Un-loshan, the only rebel of this name in Chinese history.

With these facts before us, it seems probable that General Fytche's Oung-loshan was the rebel and not the emperor, and that the certain king Razu, or Khazu, was the prime minister Kanzu. The circumstance also that Ngau-loshan's insurrection is mentioned by Du Halde as having been protracted into the reign of Sutsung is indisputable evidence that the incident related to me by the Mohammedans at Momiën is the same as the one given by Yule in his work on Cathay.

Although my informants stated that their forefathers had come in the first instance from Arabia, they mentioned, with equal clearness, that they had come to Yunan from the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, about one hundred and fifty years ago, a circumstance which would make us doubt the purity of their boasted Arab descent, for the whole weight of historical evidence is to prove that these two provinces derived the greater part, if not the whole, of their Mohammedan population from the tide of Turkish conquest which overran the northern provinces of China. We have, however, Marco Polo's and Rusheedooddeen's authority for the existence of a large Mohammedan population in Yunan in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, four hundred and forty years before the date assigned by my informants for their arrival in the province. We are led, therefore, to suppose that the ranks of the original Mohammedan population in Yunan, which may have been of Arab descent, were augmented about the beginning of the eighteenth century by a number of Turkish Mohammedans from the northern provinces of Kansu and Shensi, that the two elements rapidly amalgamated, and that their fusion was so complete that their respective traditions became as much blended together as the races themselves.

And here I cannot avoid remarking that the origin of the original Mohammedan population of Yunan and other provinces, leaving out of sight for the present Sutsung's contingent, as it is usually accounted for, viz., on the theory that it percolated in from the sea-board, seems to be a one-sided explanation, when we remember that the Nestorian Christians had found their way overland to the province of Shensi as early as A.D. 636. The circumstance that it has never been claimed for the Nestorian Christians, that they necessarily percolated into China from the sea-board, seems to militate against such a claim being put forward exclusively on behalf of the Mohammedans; for what the Nestorian Christians achieved could also be accomplished by the devotees of the prophet.

With regard to the origin of the Yunan Mohammedans, the mere circumstance that the more learned among them, such as the Hadjis, knew a little Arabic, appears a frail basis on which to rest their claim to an Arab descent, the more especially as it has to be shown that the Mohammedans of the northern provinces are not quite as familiar with this language as their southern co-religionists. The great charm Arabic has to these people is bound up in the circumstance that the prophet spoke it, and that it is the one in which all the religious books brought back by their pilgrims are written.

The circumstance that these Mohammedans of Yunan claim kindred with those of Kansu and Shensi, is one which seems destined to exercise a powerful influence on the future of the Chinese empire, and the present course of events points in the direction of the establishment of a Mohammedan monarchy which will comprise the provinces of Yunan, Sechuen, Shensi, and Kansu. This contingency was forcibly suggested to me from the facts I gathered while at Momien. The whole of the province of Yunan, we may say, has been conquered by the Mohammedans, who were then turning their attention to the southern portion of the province of Sechuen, which they had previously overrun, about six months before the visit of Col. Larel in 1861. The northern portion of the province was devastated by Mohammedan rebels from Shensi and Kansu in the early part of 1868.

The Toonganee rebellion in Dzungaria is so intimately bound up with Russian interests in Central Asia, that we may look for its suppression by that power.

We come now to speak in detail of the Yunanese Mohammedans. The term Panthay, applied to them by the Burmese, and adopted by the English, means simply Mohammedan. On the authority of General Fyche, they are known to the Chinese as Quayzay, which the writer in the *Edinburgh Review* conjectures

to be identical with Hoai-hoai, the generic term applied by the Chinese to all Mohammedans. On looking into the subject, I find that there are two Chinese words very similar in sound, but with entirely different meanings—Quayzse and Hoaizse, and that the use of the first as applied to the Mohammedans is incorrect. Quayzse means a foreigner, and is not used when speaking of them, whereas Hoaizse is constantly applied. Before the rebellion Hoai-hoai was the term in use, but now in rebel districts they are only known as Hoaizse, the affix *zse* meaning independent of Chinese authority. It is the same termination that occurs in Mautzse, Tibetan; Tatzse, Tartar; and Miaoutzse, all of which are independent tribes, and are indicated as such by the terminal syllable *zse*.

The rebellion in Yunan seems to have been brought about solely by the oppression to which the Mohammedans were subjected by their rulers. Riots occurred, in which the mosques of the Mohammedans were despoiled; and this roused their religious hate, and ultimately led to the complete destruction of nearly every Buddhistic temple in Yunan.

As the rebellion spread, the Chinese towns and villages were pillaged, and indiscriminate slaughter overtook the male population, the women being spared to minister to the passions of a brutal undisciplined mob, while the unresisting children were eagerly preserved to be educated as Mussulmans.

The desolate and ruined villages between Nantin and Momien, and the almost unbroken line of deserted towns and hamlets encircling the once smiling and busy valley of the latter city, are incontrovertible evidence of the relentless ferocity with which the Panthays prosecuted the rebellion. They met with little direct resistance from the Imperial Government, although twice the Chinese officials in the province, with a remnant of adherents, were gradually driven from the high fertile valleys, to seek refuge in the smaller and more inaccessible ones, among the mountains, to which in time they were followed by other adherents of the Imperial cause. As years passed on, and the Panthays extended their power throughout the principal valleys, a constant guerilla warfare was maintained between them and the Chinese officials, whom the Panthays now style robber chiefs, from the circumstance that they take any opportunity to pillage Panthay villages, petty traders and caravans, and even make raids to the very walls of Momien. Prominent among these called dacoit leaders is the famous chief Seesetai, who till lately had his fortress at Mauphoo, half way between Muangla and Nantin, and Sowquangfang, who has his stronghold still nearer Momien. The hatred that exists between these two chiefs and the Panthays is constantly making itself felt in raids that

have effectually paralysed trade, reduced the cultivation of the valleys to the lowest ebb compatible with the small wants of a miserably impoverished population.

At Momien and its neighbourhood, and from what we observed in the Shan States, it is evident that the fury of the Mahommedans was ultimately directed against the Buddhistic temples and monasteries; and I may safely say, from personal observation and information gained at Momien, that very few escaped destruction. The Shans, although they did not side with either party, were not exempt, and their temples and the places of their Trawkurs as well, were looted, and either burnt or razed to the ground.

While mentioning the Shans, it may be as well to state that it does not appear that either they or the Kakhyars ever joined or gave any assistance to the Panthays during the height of the rebellion, for the sympathies of their people are entirely on the side of the Chinese, and it is only within the last two years that the Shan States, in the Sunda and Hatha valleys, and the Kakhyars on the neighbouring hills, have given in their adherence to the Panthay cause, and agreed to pay tribute to them instead of to the Chinese.

The rebellion was still active while we were at Momien, and the capital of the province fell to the insurgents during our residence among them. If the account they furnished us of the taking of that great city, Yunan, is to be relied upon, it was conducted with the utmost moderation, and suggests the hope that the Panthays are beginning to realise that their position in the province is so far established that it is both politic and expedient for them to gain the favourable opinion of the people by a just consideration for the conquered, and a laudable moderation.

Vigorous hostilities were being carried on on the road between Momien and Yungchau, which was quite impassible; for out of three messengers with despatches from Tali, two were killed, and the other escaped with great difficulty.

In order that there may be no misconception as to the position of the Panthays in such outlying districts as Momien, I will briefly describe affairs as we found them in that city, which is about a hundred and twenty miles from the Burmese frontier. During our residence two thousand men, under the command of the chief military officer, marched against a body of Chinese who were threatening the Panthay town of Kayto, about thirty miles north-west of Momien, and three hundred of the ears of the latter were secured as indisputable vouchers of the victory they had gained. Moreover, fifteen executions took place during the forty-six days we were there; and thirty mules that were grazing on a hill-side close to the city were carried off by a body of

Chinese, before the eyes of a Panthay armed guard in charge of them; and, moreover, so great is the insecurity of life, that we were not allowed to go beyond half a mile from the city without the protection of an armed escort, under the charge of a responsible Panthay officer.

Before the fall of the capital, the district in its neighbourhood had been the scene of great devastation and bloodshed. One hundred villages, besides all those between Bonuyin and Chankho, and thirty-seven towns and cities were captured, and it is significantly stated in the proclamation from which I derive these particulars, that the inhabitants of those that tendered their submission were spared, leaving us to infer that those who resisted were either put to the sword, or perished in the flames of their burning homesteads. Twenty-one thousand are stated to have been killed, and it is also mentioned that forty towns were taken and destroyed, that three hundred persons were burnt to death, and that there were innumerable killed and wounded besides.

The Panthays were then opposed by fifty or sixty thousand Imperial troops, who had succeeded in retaking the towns of Wootee and Sawsee; but it is evident from the whole tenour of the document, that the Chinese were unable to contend against them, and the surrender of Yunan city by its officials was a telling recognition, on the part of the inhabitants, of the inevitable progress of the Mahommedans.

The fighting, however, at this time, 1867-8, was not confined to the Momien and Yunan districts, for Mr. Cooper informs me that while he was at Weeree, on the left bank of the Cambodia, in the north of the province, in July, 1868, that the Panthays and Chinese were engaged in active hostilities at Jseegooshan and Leejanfu, almost on its extreme northern outskirt. During the same month I learned at Momien that the Mahommedans had spread into the neighbouring province of Sechuen, into which they had formerly made a raid, along with the Miaoutzia, so far back as 1860. On that occasion they crossed the river at Pingshan.

The Panthays have spread as far as Theta in the south of the province, four or five days' march to the north of Kyaingyunggyu, on the Cambodia, so that the whole of Yunan is in open rebellion; and as this is not an event of yesterday or to-day, but has existed for the last fifty years and even before this, I leave it to those interested in the scheme for opening up a trade between China and Burmah, *viâ* Yunan, to form their own conclusions as to its practicability in the present unsettled condition of the country.

With reference to the internal affairs of the Panthays, it is

now well known that a Hadji, Ma Yussa by name, was elected a few years ago to the responsible position of king, and that he holds his court at Talifu. - He is known to the Mahommedans as Sooleyman, and to the Chinese as Tuwintsen. Four military and four civil officers, or what the Chinese call mandarins of the first class, are associated with him in the government; and the former have certain districts allotted to them, but any matter of importance is referred to Talifu, where the King has the advice of his Civil Counsel of Four.

The governorship of Tengyechew (Momien) is the most important. Its holder wears the official robes of a Chinese military mandarin of the first class, and keeps up a show of state in a small palace within the city, which was almost entirely destroyed at the outbreak of the rebellion in 1853.

Tasakon, the present governor, is always attended by a number of military officers, all young men devoted to his service. As in the case of the other governors, he is supreme in all matters civil and military, but the command of the troops at Momien is entrusted to an officer with the title of Thazayinhjee.

All criminals and persons suspected of Chinese sympathies are brought before the governor for judgment, and his sentences are carried into effect by the military who have charge of the prison. If the sentence is capital, the uncompassioned criminal, with his hands tied behind his back, is at once led to the outskirts of the bazaar by a small escort, with music and banners flying, and is made to kneel by the side of the road, and has his head struck off by one swoop of the executioner's dah, and is then buried on the spot. If taken in the act of dacoity, he is executed without any trial, and the ghastly head is usually hung up by the side of the gate of the city as a terror to evil-doers.

The male portion of the Panthay population is almost exclusively military, and resides within the city. A constant watch is kept from guardhouses over the gates, two of which have been built up for greater safety; and the bazaar outside, in which the Chinese population which has given in its adherence to the Panthay cause resides, is also enclosed by a low brick wall, with a number of gates, that are closed at dark, and under the care of sentinels.

It does not require any very lengthened observation or inquiry, and, indeed, a few days' residence at Momien suffice to impress one with the fact that the government is entirely in the hands of the soldiery; that the hold the Panthays have on the district is still so precarious that they are liable to be attacked at any moment, and that the feeling among the Chinese traders and merchants, and of the peasantry generally, is unfavourable to them.

The Panthays at Momien are generally well-made, athletic men, of moderate height, and all are fair-skinned, with slightly oblique eyes, and high cheek-bones, with a cast of countenance quite distinct from the Chinese. Their general type of face recalled to me those one meets with among the traders who came down to Calcutta from Bokhara and Herat. They usually wear a moustache, but pull out, in Chinese fashion, all the rest of the hair on their faces.

The Hadji at Nantin, however, went unshaven in true Mohammedan style. The hair of their heads is usually allowed to grow long behind, and is coiled in the folds of their ample white turbans, which project outwards, nearly on a line with the shoulder. They wear the Chinese jacket and short trousers, and have the lower part of the leg, above the ankle, bandaged with blue cloth in the same way as the Shans. A bright, orange-yellow waistband, in which they usually carry a silver-mounted dagger, and Chinese cloth shoes complete the costume. Their women dress after the fashion of their Chinese sisters, and any I have seen of the better classes had small feet.

The governor has four wives, who are carefully excluded from public gaze. He is fully six feet three inches in height, and of commanding appearance. His face and hands are very dark, from exposure, but the general colour of his skin is quite as fair as the fairest Chinese. He has the oblique eye, his lips are heavy and rather protuberant, while his face is a decided oval, with high cheek-bones. His hands are large, and his forehead is small and retreating. He may be said to be the hero of a hundred fights, and his numerous scars are speaking proofs of his courage. A deep indentation between his eyes marks where he was hit by a spent bullet, a round hard thing like a small marble over his ribs, and another, in one arm, are two other gunshot wounds. Scars on his legs and arms testify to hand in hand encounters with the formidable dah. He is quiet, self-possessed, with a determined will, sound sense, and great natural dignity of bearing, and he at once impresses one as being a man born to command.

The Panthays profess to be strict observers of the laws of the Prophet, and abstain, as a rule, from strong drink, tobacco, and opium; but on one occasion, when we were feasted by the Tahsayinhyee, he drank with us out of a large jug containing a peculiar but pleasant warm preparation of spirit, and kept the bowl circulating till we had drained it to the dregs. My curiosity prompted me to examine these, and I was rewarded with the unpleasant discovery that they were largely composed of small pieces of pork fat and walnuts. Our host had a particular *goût* for the beverage, and, I suppose, with more wisdom than we, was careful to avoid any inquiries into its composition.

Before the rebellion they had a mosque built in a style quite distinct from the Chinese, and, I suppose, after plans brought home by their Hadjis. Now, however, the prayers are said in a building thoroughly Chinese in all its details, and in the verses from the Koran written in Chinese, we had evidence that Arabic is not very generally cultivated; indeed, there was only one Hadji at Momien who made any pretensions to know it so as to be able to speak it.

The presence of our Jemadhar was a great godsend to the Panthays, and the demand for his services at the mosque was so great that he entirely lost the use of his voice, to the grievous disappointment of the celestial Mohammedans. He frequently lamented to me the laxity that prevailed among them, and my native doctor held them in supreme contempt, and used to assert that they were no Mohammedans.

They were full, however, of kindness to their fellow religionists in the guard, without distinction, and did everything for their comfort. On our departure, a few of the officers accompanied us nearly a mile from the city, and wept bitterly as we left them, and our last sight of Momien embraced these tender-hearted men anxiously looking after us from the spot on which we had parted from them.

I will refer to only two other aspects of the Panthay character, which are encouraging to think of, when we contemplate the possibility that they may ultimately become a distinct power in Asia; strange to say, born on the very soil of the most exclusive and conservative people that the world has ever seen. I refer to their strict honesty in all trading transactions, to their abilities as traders, and to the keen appreciation they appear to have of the benefits which are likely to accrue to them from commercial intercourse with other nations. Their honesty requires no comment; but to illustrate their consideration for traders, I may mention that I was informed by a Chinaman who was travelling in the north of Yunan during the rebellion, that a large caravan on its way to Eastern Tibet had occasion to pass where the Panthay and Chinese forces were opposed, and, as my informant put it, the Mohammedan general desisted for a day from attacking his adversary, in order that the caravan might safely pass. He mentioned as well that the Mohammedan mandarins, in those portions of the north of the province which have had occasional periods of peace, are not nearly so much dreaded by the merchants as the Imperial ones, and that they feel themselves safe from inordinate extortion whenever they reach their jurisdiction.

The Panthays speak Chinese, and, as a rule, know no other language, and, if the account we have given of those found in Yunan is correct, we have the remarkable fact of a race of Arab

and Turkish descent speaking Chinese, we need hardly say to the entire exclusion of the mother tongues of those races.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. CHARNOCK said the author of the paper seemed to be opinion that the Mohammedans of China came direct from Arabia. Some of them, however, might have entered through India and Burmah, or by way of Independent Turkestan, or Tibet. In the tenth century, the Tibetans embraced Islamism for twenty-five years. Mr. Anderson referred to Jenghiz Khan and the Uigurs, who, by-the-bye, were the base of the Ottoman Turks. Their original habitat was Khamil or Hami in Chinese Turkestan. Other Mohammedans may have come from the seaboard. The Arabs, without doubt, had intercourse with China as early as the first half of the fifth century. They formerly traded to a port called *Zeitun*, which Klaproth thought to be the same with *Tsze thung*. Hence the Arabs are said to have brought the olive, called in Arabic *zeitūn*. It may have been the port now called *Lien-tchoo-fou*, in the Gulf of Tonquin. The Mohammedans of China did not understand Arabic, and there was no copy of the Kurán in Chinese. It was probable that in each town a priest was able to repeat a few lines of the Kurán, which was all that was necessary to carry on the religious services. It was the same with the Buddhists. The services were performed in the Fân dialect, which was quite unintelligible to the followers of the faith. The word *mandarin* was not Chinese. Such a word could not be formed in that language. It was an appellation given by the Portuguese to officers called by the Chinese *khwan*. A good deal of information as to the intercourse between the Arabs and Chinese would be found in the voyages of Ibn. Batuta and Father Odoric, for which Colonel Yule's work on Cathay might be consulted.

Mr. Wade, Dr. A. Campbell, and Mr. Hyde Clarke, also joined in the discussion.

Mr. EDWARD CHARLESWORTH exhibited a collection of Antiquities from Mexico.

Mr. J. MCK. HUGHES exhibited a stone implement found in the bed of the Elwy, near Pont-yl-allt-Goch, North Wales.

The meeting then separated.

MAY 15TH, 1871.

GEORGE HARRIS, Esq., V.P., *in the Chair.*

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read, and confirmed.

The following New Members were announced: ANTHONY OWST ATKINSON, Esq., LL.D., etc., Kingston-upon-Hull; and JAMES TEMPLE, Esq., 62, Belsize Park Gardens, and Lazewood Park, Tunbridge Wells.

The following presents were announced, and the thanks of the meeting voted to the respective donors:—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the EDITOR.—The Food Journal, No. 10, vol. iii.

From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, part i, No. 4.

From the AUTHOR.—A Memoir on Indian Survey. By Clements R. Markham.

From the EDITORS.—Archiv für Anthropologie. 1871.

From the SOCIETY.—Monthly Notices of Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania. 1868-9.

From Hon. E. G. SQUIER.—Annexation of Santa Domingo.

From the SOCIETY.—Mittheilungen der Anthropol. Gesells. in Wien, No. 8.

From the AUTHOR.—Della Capacita dell' Orbita nel Cranio Umano. Prof. P. Mantegazza.

From the AUTHOR.—The Pharaoh of the Exodus. R. J. Campbell.

From J. F. COLLINGWOOD.—The Darwinian Theory Examined. Anonymous.

From the EDITOR.—Nature, to date.

From the INSTITUTE.—Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, No. 12.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 128.

From the EDITOR.—Revue Bibliographique Universelle, vol. vi, part 6.

The following paper was read:

On DIVINATION and ANALOGOUS PHENOMENA among the NATIVES of NATAL. By the Rev. Canon HENRY CALLAWAY, M.D., Local Secretary of the Anthropological Institute.

Of all the various branches of natural history, there are none so calculated to interest man as the natural history of Man. And of all the various subjects comprised in the term, "the natural history of man", there is perhaps no one more interesting, and at the same time more difficult to investigate, than those phenomena which result from his mental endowments.

There are certain extraordinary mental phenomena which have

occurred at all times, and in every stage of human culture and condition of society, in which all have more or less believed, but about which there have been the most diverse opinions. Some have been disposed to treat all such phenomena as delusions, or as something bordering on insanity. Many have sneered at them, and tried to laugh them down. Some have ascribed them to imposture, and have refused to believe in them at all; whilst others have most devoutly believed in them, and supposed them to be occasioned by visitations from the spirit-world; and the witch has been supposed to have communion with the devil, and to have obtained from him in barter for her soul some worthless power of doing evil for the mere sake of doing it, notwithstanding the utter impossibility of understanding the value of such a bargain to either of the contracting parties. And the diviner has been supposed to be indebted for his knowledge to good or evil spirits, according to the character of his divinations.

The disposition to believe in spiritual agencies as a means of escaping from the necessity of patient observation, and the labour of collecting facts and tracing them to their causes, has very much diminished of late years. It was a great mistake at all times, and has at all times led to confusion, misunderstanding, and suffering to refer any peculiar phenomena either in the outer world or in the human mind to the direct agency of supernatural good or evil powers, who are supposed to override or set aside the ordinary laws of the universe, and come in with a special agency to effect some special object.

Having a conviction of the absolute harmony and, if I may so speak, legal administration of the universe, I feel no disposition unnecessarily to call in spirits to explain such phenomena, or to look to the exorcist to prevent their recurrence. For many years I have had my attention directed to such phenomena, and I have asked myself whether they may not all be referred to some common law of human nature. At any rate, I am persuaded, it will be better to believe this and to work towards it. At the same time I hold it to be utterly unscientific to deny the existence of spirits, or to refuse to allow the possibility of their playing any part in the affairs of man. The pure physicist tells us that it is out of his sphere to determine whether there are such spiritual entities or not. His work lies among material facts; he cannot collect facts from the spirit-world. This may be so; and undoubtedly so long as he finds natural conditions sufficient for the explanation of such mental phenomena, he wisely abstains from seeking for other causes. But if he cannot collect facts to prove the existence of spirits, nor trace evidence of their continually traversing the order of things in this lower world—at least he cannot disprove this existence. Such facts may elude his obser-

vation, or he may not yet understand how to search for them, or what kind of facts to look for. It would be therefore unscientific in him to act the dogmatist, and to imagine that his ignorance or incapacity has proved a negative. And for my part, I accept the arguments of the metaphysician as having amply proved the existence of a spiritual entity in man, distinct from the material organisation, in which it works and by which it is brought into relation with the external world. And I shall always speak in this belief in the following paper:—

The subject which I propose to discuss before this Society is, "Certain Mental Phenomena occurring among the Natives of Natal, and which form the Basis of their System of Divination."

But before I can well apply any facts to the support of my theory on the subject, I must discuss some preliminary matters in connection with certain other phenomena, which I suppose to be analogous, and by understanding the real nature of which we may at last be helped to get a glimpse of the possible explanation of the more difficult phenomena.

I propose, then, to speak of, 1, Dreams; 2, Sympathy; 3, Presentiment; and I think, as we go along, we shall see that most of the mental phenomena, which form the subject of this paper, may be arranged under one or the other of these heads.

1. *The Dream*.—None of us believe that a dream is occasioned by the actual presence of the object of which we dream. Yet it is a very common opinion throughout the world, and was probably at one time universally believed, that a dream results from the object coming to us, or that our spirit goes to the object; as when we dream of being carried away by the molten lava of a burning mountain.

Thus the natives of Natal believe in the real objective presence of the person of whom they dream. And one of the great arguments used by those who have but little faith in the legends of the people, against the Stongo, or spirit of a dead man, being a snake, is founded on this mistaken idea of the nature of a dream: they say the dead man always comes to them in the form which he had whilst living, and therefore he has not been turned into a snake.

But what is a dream? Let us coin a word, not altogether unobjectionable, I allow, but a word which will express in one what a dream really is. A dream is—brain-sensation. In the brain we find the real seat of the senses. It is there, and not in the distal extremities of the nerves, not in the organs of sense, that the mind takes cognisance of external things.

A step further. These conditions of the brain, usually resulting from impressions conveyed to it from external objects, may exist without such objects being present. In many diseases the pa-

tient, without the action of any external objects, has impressions such as are ordinarily produced by their presence. There may be a disagreeable smell without anything to produce it, noticed by the patient only. He may have strange or painful sensations in various parts of his body without any external cause. He may see persons or things, familiar or strange; or hear sounds articulate or otherwise.

This, then, is what I mean by brain-sensation—a condition of brain which, without external causes, is attended by feeling, hearing, and sight, just as it would if there were external causes in operation, capable of producing such sensations. This condition of brain, which produces the dream, may be absolutely subjective, or only partially so. It is absolutely subjective when it is produced by the memory and imagination. It is partially so when something external, similar to or entirely different from that dreamt of, sets the memory or imagination at work. The memory in sleep is very peculiar, and sometimes calls up the past with a greater vividness than when the person is awake. When dreams are partially subjective, there is some external impression which determines the dream,—becomes a starting-point on which there is built up a fanciful combination. In all these cases we presume that the same condition of brain is produced, as would be produced if the objects dreamt of were actually present.

Let us pass from the dream—by one step. A person dreams of an absent or dead friend, he wakes suddenly, the impression of the dream remains; with open eyes and wakeful mind he still sees the image of the dead; and nothing will dissuade him from the conviction that he has actually seen a spirit.

But there are waking dreams. There are innumerable instances in which, entirely without the presence of external objects, the brain is impressed as though such objects were present. There is the same kind of subjective brain-sensation when a man is awake, as produces dreams when he is sleeping. The case of Nicolai, the bookseller, whose room was to him apparently always full of company, is well known to most. But these spectres—as I prefer to call them, rather than spectral illusions—are extremely various. Sometimes appearing for a moment only, and then vanishing; sometimes existing as a permanent companion; sometimes solitary and unvarying; sometimes in large numbers, and of an ever-changeable character.

There is another set of these spectres, which are only seen when the eyes are shut, thus excluding the possibility of their being occasioned by external things. These, as well as the others which I have been mentioning, are met with for the most part in disordered, generally exhausted, or super-excited condi-

tions of the brain ; and many who have been subject to these brain-sensations either become deranged or die of brain-disease. Others have the power of calling up spectres when they wish—that is, they can, by an effort of the will, induce that condition of brain, which I have called brain-sensation. This is a very important fact in the investigation of the causes of such phenomena. Generally speaking, the subjects of these spectres can distinguish the spectres from real objects. But Dr. Abercrombie has recorded the case of a gentleman who was always accompanied by spectres, which he had great difficulty in distinguishing from real objects, so that if he met a friend he had to ask if it were he or his spirit !

Hitherto our attention has been directed to spectral vision or *brain-sight*. But there are mental phenomena of precisely the same nature, in which sounds and voices are heard. These sounds may vary from the tinkling of a bell, or a call of the name, to the constant, or almost constant, presence of a talking, though invisible, companion. It is very possible that the demon of Socrates, and the nymph of Numa Pompilius, are to be referred to this order of phenomena. And I am myself acquainted with persons who, when in certain states of mental exaltation, have long discourses spoken to them—in prose or verse—in such a way that they seem to be as much a something uttered without them and independent of the working of their own minds, as the harangue of an orator, and the reading of a poet. These are cases of *brain-hearing*—that is, there is, I presume, the same condition of brain as there would be if the sounds actually reached it through the ear.

You will see at once how this theory explains the case of those fanatics, who suppose they have received a call to do some great or good, or some debasing and wicked, thing—to evangelise the world, they being utterly unfitted by mental endowments, training, or religious or moral character, for such a work—or to overthrow the established order of society, expecting, but not having given to them, the power which the inner voices have promised them for the purpose of carrying out their ruinous projects. Such men are devout believers in the reality of these voices, which they suppose come from heaven, and that to disobey or to resist them is a sin against God.

There is another class of such phenomena to which I can only just allude. It is said that certain families and localities are the subjects of them. Thus, a death in certain great Irish families is said to be heralded in by the scream of the banshee ; some in Scotland by a voice of a more plaintive and gentle character. Others have a visit from a headless lady dressed in white ; or from a brown lady, or a white bird flutters at the window.

Then some particular localities are said to have their own spectres. These may address themselves to the eye or ear.

I confess I am unable to explain such matters as these. They require further investigation. The sound may be external,—real sound produced by some unknown cause. And local spectres, if they are seen by persons who know of the bad fame of the place in which they appear, may be explained on the supposition that they are mere instances of brain-sight, caused by the imagination. But when they are seen by persons wholly unacquainted with the history of such appearances, it is very difficult to know to what we can attribute such phenomena. But it is probable that if fully and cautiously investigated, either they would break down altogether, or we should be able to refer them to known, though at present concealed causes.

Let us now proceed to the second division of our subject, that of Sympathy and Presentiment.

It will be clear when I speak of sympathy, I am not intending to speak merely of that form of it which is produced by the external knowledge of facts, capable of calling forth sympathy or compassion. This is a kind of sympathy which requires no illustration. And it does not belong to the subject we have in hand, except in such cases as those in which it gives rise to remarkable phenomena of an epidemic character. But there is a sympathy of another kind, which brings people into relation with each other without external visible causes. And under the term Sympathy I here mean a being brought into communion with others, a having a common feeling with others, or having a consciousness, more or less accurate, of what is going on in places at a distance, or in reference to things with which the mind has no visible external means of communication. This far-sightedness may be as regards space or time; when it exists in reference to things going on at a distance, it is called sympathy, when in reference to things which are to happen by-and-bye, it is presentiment or prophecy.

And I think I shall be able to adduce a sufficient number of instances to satisfy you, that as in the dream there is brain-sensation, either entirely independent of external things, or only partially dependent on them, so there may be brain-sensations leading to a distinct consciousness of what is going on in the minds of others either present with us or absent from us; and also of places or of things without any visible external causes whatever. Or to bring the meaning of what I would say at once before you in one clear, distinct sentence—there is a power of clairvoyance, naturally belonging to the human mind, or, in the words of a native speaking on this subject, “there is some-

thing which is divination within man"; words strangely like those of Socrates, who, in his "Apology", speaks of "natural inspiration" as being that under which poets act as well as prophets and seers.

The most simple form in which this power is manifested is in those unreasoning sympathies which draw people at first sight to each other; there is a mutual consciousness of mutual adaptation one to the other. Or in those unreasoning sympathies which repel them, where there is a mutual consciousness of mutual unfitness one for the other. Or the sympathy and repugnance may be on one side only. We have all perhaps known instances in which a full, joyous, social intercourse has been damped or entirely stopped by the entrance of an unknown stranger, or, it may be, of a person well known, but who, from some unknown cause, by his mere presence, casts a depression over the company. All feel it. No one can explain it. On the other hand, perhaps, we have all known instances in which the presence of another, with or without words, seems to shed a genial glow around, to give a sense of comfort and support.

Then it is very commonly believed that blood relations can recognise each other by sympathy, and that, though having never seen each other, or having been separated from each other before knowledge existed, yet on meeting they feel a mutual attraction which leads to the discovery of their relationships. The belief in this sympathetic recognition of blood relations one of the other, is an article of the untaught Zulus' creed.

To the same class of phenomena belong those unreasoning apprehensions of coming evil, or anticipations of coming joy, which are sometimes realised. Then further, without any apparent reason, one is sometimes drawn to a certain place, or urged to do a certain thing, and remarkable results follow. Or without knowing why, we go and put our hand on something we have lost, and have for some time vainly searched for. Or we are held back from doing a thing, or from going to a certain place, sometimes against our will and judgment, sometimes with a distinct but unfounded presentiment of evil; and the result shows that the evil would have reached us, had we not attended to the warning. We must not, however, omit to note that it not unfrequently happens that such impressions are utterly wrong and unjustified by the result. They may not only be unreasoning, but utterly unreasonable.

The natives of Natal believe in this kind of sympathy, by which they are made conscious of what is happening at a distance from them; and there are certain recognised signs among them by which it is attended. Thus they may have an absent friend brought forcibly before them, as being in some danger, and

at the same time be affected with the coeliac passions. Or tears may come into their eyes without any known cause. Or there may be simply a something in them,—an inner voice, which tells them that their friend is ill or dead.

An old man who had cataract in each eye referred his blindness to the following circumstance. He said his son had gone out to battle. During the day he was suddenly seized with blindness, and felt at the same time a strong impression that his son was killed. This turned out to be the case.

Or sympathy with the absent may be felt only at night. During sleep he sees his friend, as he is lying sick or dead; and sometimes, it is said, if he has been killed, he sees the very wound that has caused his death.

Umpengula was engaged in service at Pietermaritzburg. He dreamt that he saw his brother Undayeni, dressed in his finest attire and dancing at a wedding. On awaking he had a strong impression that his brother was dead. He could not shake off the impression, and involuntary tears came continually into his eyes, and he looked constantly in the direction by which a messenger must come from his home. During the morning a messenger came. On seeing him, he said, "I know why you are come—Undayeni is dead." He was dead.

But here again I would point out what is a very important fact when we come to consider the real significance of such phenomena, that, on another occasion, he had a similar impression that he should receive intelligence of my own death, which, as you see, turned out to be false.

We all probably know more or less of what is called "second sight", which appears to be a kind of sympathetic and prophetic instinct—a natural clairvoyance. It is often an hereditary gift, and what is more remarkable, is often possessed only when at home in the northern island homes of the seers. When they quit there, the power of second sight ceases, to return again when they return to their native place. We thus have suggested to us another cause of these remarkable phenomena, that they may be excited by endemic or local circumstances. And we are reminded of the Delphic prophetess who became ecstatic, and gained her power of divination, such as it was, by inhaling the fumes which proceeded from a cavern over which the temple was built.

I have been told that a member of my own family possessed a somewhat similar gift, that is, she was the subject of impressions, and saw spectres, by which she knew beforehand and prophesied of deaths and marriages which would occur in the neighbourhood of where she lived.

Let us now proceed to consider certain phenomena which

occur among the natives of Natal : 1, phenomena occurring spontaneously in certain exalted conditions of mind ; 2, self-mesmerism ; 3, the native system of divinations.

1. *Phenomena occurring Spontaneously.*—Soon after being connected with the natives as a missionary, I became acquainted with the curious fact that they are almost always subject to visions and strange delusions of the senses during the early period of their conversion. A man has been aroused by some means from a heathen train of thought ; often by means unknown to himself—by something working in him, as he thinks, independently of any external thing ; sometimes something that has been heard in a sermon, or a remark in conversation, or in a book, or even the mere presence of another convert among his acquaintance, excites reflection. He becomes wretched, he knows not why. He is filled with an unreasoning fear. He dreads he knows not what. His external condition is such that he cannot retire to a secret chamber. But he is driven to pray to an unseen, unknown, uncomprehended power. He cannot pray in the midst of his friends and relatives. They would laugh at him ; perhaps beat him ; perhaps give him medicines to expel the new fancies. So, in obedience to the inner impulse, he goes to some retired spot in the bush, or to some secret ravine, and there kneels and cries to one he knows not. Whilst praying, he closes his eyes, and at once sees various kinds of fearful things. He sees, perhaps, a deadly snake coming towards him, with open mouth and fierce eyes, ready to attack him. Or he hears, as it were, the stealthy tread of the leopard, and the gentle crackling of the broken twigs, as he comes on for his final spring ; or he sees his eyes glaring on him through a neighbouring thicket. Or he sees a man approaching him with angry gestures, armed with an assagai to stab him. He starts up in dismay, to escape the threatened danger, in the reality of which he fully believes. But, on opening his eyes and looking around, there is nothing but the same quiet scene which he saw on his arrival.*

Being unable to explain such things—believing, as they do, that a dream is occasioned by the presence of a real object—they believe that these visions are occasioned by real objects too. Many are horrified, and imagine it is the spirits of their ancestors come to express their displeasure at their impious departure from the religion of their fathers. They desist from praying, and return to heathendom with all their old faith and notions greatly confirmed.

Or they may go to some friend who is a Christian, and

* An illustration of those phenomena may be seen in the autobiography of Usetemba Dhladhla, which has been translated and published.

consult him. Or they may ask the meaning of such things of the missionary. The former tells them that all natives, in the transition stage between unbelief and faith, see such things, and details his own experience. The latter may tell them it is a delusion. Both tell them not to heed such things, but to persevere. If they take this advice, and persevere for a few times, and disregard whatever presents itself, these visions pass away, and are never seen again. But such things are quite common in the most untutored savages.

An old woman, a heathen, who probably had never before spoken with a missionary, was brought to me by her son. She appeared to be in perfect bodily health; but she would not remain at home during the night, but went out constantly to wander on the mountains, because, she said, she heard the spirits of the dead calling her to become a diviner. Here was a very common symptom of incipient insanity; the brain hearing, or rather conveying sounds to the mind without any cause of sound. She thought she heard voices: they were internal or brain-voices, continually calling her to go to certain places, or to perform certain actions.

The power of divining generally begins in a native by some such disturbances of the nervous system as I have been describing. I have lately had an opportunity of inquiring into a case of this kind, the particulars of which I will proceed to detail.

A native of Springvale, a convert of some ten or eleven years' standing, suddenly left the station. He has always manifested great uncertainty of character, and a very impressible nervous system. It appears that for several years he has from time to time seen subjective apparitions, and been in the habit of dreaming strange life-like dreams. But superstition, and the still lingering within him of his old heathen notions, withheld him from making one a confidant in the matter; but he did mention it to some old people in the village, who were not likely to be able to help him in any way. At length, after a prolonged confinement to the house from a broken thigh, he was suddenly seized with the belief that the spirits of the dead were calling him to become a diviner; that is, he had subjective or brain-voices speaking to him. He gave no heed to the voices at first; but, at length, he told the head-man of the village that the spirits were calling him, and he must leave us.

Understanding that there was little chance of my being able to get an interview with him, I sent a man, in whom I could trust, to investigate the case for me. He gave me the following account of its origin and progress.

He said he was suffering from a disease which he did not

understand; that it had destroyed his religious faith and his natural affection for his children, which had been very great. It had also destroyed his affection for men. There was now no one he loved. He wished to be away far from all human intercourse. The disorder began some years ago. He first had a sensation of something creeping up from his fingers and toes, passing up his legs and arms, and settling in his shoulders, producing there a sense of oppression and of great weight. The shoulders is the place where the Itongo is supposed to have some especial residence.

After a time he began to see things when he lay down. Then songs, which he had never heard, would come up of their own accord to his mind. Then in his dreams he passed from place to place, and supposed that in this way he had become acquainted with the whole country. "I see also," he said, "elephants and hyenas, and lions and leopards, and full rivers. All these things come near to me to kill me. Not a day passes without my seeing such things when I lie down." And let us think how great must be his terror, when he believes that these things actually come to him. Then he sometimes thinks he is flying high in the air. And if he tries to get rid of such things by praying, it seems only to cause the visions to multiply in number and frightfulness. "By prayer," he said, "I seem to summon all kinds of death to come and kill me at once." Now he has continual internal voices calling him at night, and telling him to go to some particular spot, or to dig up roots which are medicinal. He frequently obeys and finds nothing. Or if he finds a plant and digs it up, he does not know its properties, and throws it away. Sometimes he refuses to obey. Sometimes the voices tell him to go to a certain thicket, and he will find a buck entangled. He goes, but finds nothing. The voices also command him to slaughter cattle continually; but he refuses. All sounds are distressing to him. He has quitted kraal after kraal because he is unable to bear the barking of the dogs: and one reason assigned for not returning to his home is the dread of the ringing of the bell.

He told the men that I sent to him that he saw them coming the day before; but they were white men. And he was very ill on their arrival, because a white man had entered the hut during the night, and struck him on the thigh which had been broken. He arose from his sleeping mat and threw ashes over him. But the excitement had left him very ill. He is not always the same. On Sundays he is quite well, and imagines he knows when it is Sunday by his freedom from visions, and general sensations of relief. He will eat only a few kinds of food,—meat, the dregs of native beer mixed with boiled maize and wild herbs,

It is probable he was thus communicative with my messenger in the expectation of convincing him that he was being called by the spirits of the dead, and that he could not do otherwise than obey them.

His friends, looking on these symptoms as indicating the disease which precedes the power to divine, treat him with great gentleness and deference. The two questions they had to determine between were these:—1, whether they should call in a doctor who should so treat him that the power of divining might be fully developed in him; or, 2, whether they should call in a doctor to lay the spirits, and restore him to his usual health. They concluded to call in a doctor to lay the spirits, notwithstanding having been warned by another that by doing so they might cause his death.

A spirit is laid in this way. Emetics of a certain kind are given, which they suppose have the power of expelling from the system some matter which causes the disease. That which is ejected is taken, mixed with sundry medicines, and buried in an ant-heap some distance from the kraal. They adopted this plan, and the man was at once convulsed, and remained in convulsions for many days. They called his wife. She insisted that they should dig up the medicine, and went herself and destroyed the charm by opening the place where it was buried.

Thus things remain at present. What the future will be we cannot say. He may die of the disease, or become insane; this, however, is said by the natives not to be common. Or he may become a diviner. Or if he would submit himself to proper care and treatment, may be restored to perfect health. He regards as the immediate exciting cause of the disease in its aggravated form, a visit from his father-in-law, who told him that two of his brothers had become diviners in the Zulu country. He was silent, but was at once impressed with the conviction that in his own case, too, the visions and voices, and dreams were premonitions of a future eminence, such as that to which his brothers had attained. One of his sisters, too, in this country had had similar premonitory symptoms. It is a fact of considerable importance that it is a disease which runs in the family. It is said that his father, who was a steward to the Lulu king, had similar symptoms. The king did not like to lose his steward, so when he heard it, he sent his men and took away all his steward's cattle. And "that," my informant shrewdly remarks, "was the medicine which cured him."

I have entered into this lengthy detail of the case, not only because it is one which has come under my own observation, but because it may be regarded as a type of what the natives call "the disease which precedes the power to divine." But to sketch the progress of such cases, I must draw from other sources.

Such symptoms as I have mentioned having continued for some time, the progress is something as follows. The person is heard singing at night. The songs are often good, always new—so new and so good that the whole kraal will sometimes arise and join in them. Or he is observed to come home early in the morning, having been wandering about the country all night, bringing with him certain plants, which he tells them the spirits have pointed out to him, and revealed their medicinal powers. Or he leaves his home, and wanders for an indefinite period on the mountains and in the open country; and comes back daubed with clay, which he says he has obtained by living for some time in a pool with the rainbow, which the natives suppose to be an animal; and having his body festooned with snakes. After a time he declares himself to be a diviner; and his friends put his powers to the test by concealing things, which he has to detect by his clairvoyant ability. If he succeeds, his fame is spread abroad among the people, and they are called to be witnesses of his power. They send him away into the bush, and hide all kinds of things in all kinds of places. He returns, and if he finds them, or the majority of them, he is declared to be a diviner by acclamation.

We should not omit here to mark that these diviners, in their initiations, adopt a very similar process—fasting, watching, and bodily austerities—to that of the old Egyptian hermits, and other notabilities; and that the results in each case are similar, visions, inner voices, and clairvoyance.

2. *Self-Mesmerism Practised by the Natives.*—I cannot better introduce this subject than by the words of a native:—"Among black men there is a certain inner power of divining. When a thing is lost which is valuable, they begin to search for it at once; when they cannot find it, each begins to practise this inner divination, and tries to feel where the thing is; and not being able to see it, he feels internally a pointing, which says if he go down to such a place he will find it. At length he feels sure he shall find it; then he sees it and himself approaching it; before he begins to move from where he is sitting he sees it very clearly indeed, and there is an end of all doubt. That sight is so clear, that it is as though it was not inner sight, but as if he saw the very thing itself, and the place where it is. So he rises quickly and goes to the place. If it is a hidden place he throws himself into it, as though he was impelled by something to go as swiftly as the wind. And he really finds it, if he has not been merely guessing with his brain, but has practised the true inner divination. But if it has been from mere head-guessing, and knowing that he has searched in such a place and such a

place, and then it must be in such another place, he generally misses the mark."

It is extremely interesting and remarkable that in order to excite this inner power into activity, these savages adopt a plan precisely similar to that of certain mystics when they are waiting for inspiration. Like them, they attempt to effect intense concentration and abstraction of the mind,—an abstraction even from their own thoughts, and, according to the statement, by this self-mesmerising process, become clairvoyant.

Here is an instance or two in which this "inner divination" is put to a practical application: It is said that when boys are herding cattle they often leave them to join others in a game of play. Hence it often happens that, when they return towards evening, several of the herd are missing; they sometimes search here, there, and everywhere they can think of to no purpose. They then agree to sit down and abstract themselves from all external things. Whilst thus abstracted, an intimation arises within them, or one of them, that the cattle are in such a place; and the faith in the truth of the intimation is so strong, and the impulse to go to the place so irresistible, that the subject of it arises and runs off full speed to the place and finds the cattle. It is said that it is not every boy that has the power; some have it more than others; some never have it at all. Others, on the contrary, have it so strong and clear, that they are soon looked up to by their fellows, who follow them with the same confidence as a pack of dogs will the yelp of some well known hound when he has taken up the scent. It is said that native waggon-drivers, when they have lost their oxen, sometimes adopt this plan with success.

Sometimes persons who wish to inquire of a diviner will agree to conceal from him the object of their visit; so when they come to his hut they pretend to be mere passing travellers. But after sitting still awhile he becomes sensible of the object of their visit. He tells them he saw them before they reached his place, by his inner sense, and knows that they come to inquire of him; that being a real diviner, he has no need of assistance from them. He orders them to leave the house, and promises he will presently bring them the information they want.

In Zululand, in order to prevent intelligence being carried to intended victims, the chief does not acquaint his troops with his intentions till the time of their setting out to destroy the inhabitants of some devoted kraal. It is said to be no uncommon thing for the head of such kraal to have a presentiment of impending danger. He is first sensible of bodily uneasiness and great restlessness. He then sits still, and practises that "inner divination", or self-mesmerism, which the herd boys practise;

and in this state he becomes conscious—that is, has a brain-vision of the approaching army; and tells his people to quit at once their village and hide themselves in the woods. As they quit their kraal he will sometimes halt them again, to feel an inward intimation of the path they are to take. It is said that in this way many escape that would otherwise be massacred.

Many of us will no doubt remember examples of similar occurrences among other people.

3. *The Native System of Divination.*—There still remains for us to consider their system of divination. There are several kinds of diviners among them. They are called “iziniyanga zokubula”, and are of four kinds: 1, iziniyanga zesitupa, or thumb-diviners; 2, those who divine by means of pieces of stick or bones, who are called Omabukula izinti and Amatambo; 3, iziniyanga ezadhla impepo—diviners who ate impepo; 4, and lastly, those who are called Abemilozi, which perhaps we cannot better translate than by “those with familiar spirits.”

1. The thumb-doctor is so called because in divining he requires the assistance of those who come to inquire, which is given by pointing with the thumb whenever he says anything approaching to the truth. It appears to be a mere system of guessing. The diviner asks sundry questions of those who come to inquire. His questions are put, however, in an affirmative form. He begins, perhaps, by saying, “you have come to inquire about a person who is ill?” As this is a very common cause which leads people to diviners, he is very likely to be right the first time. This assertion is received with great outcry. They cry “hear, hear!” smite the ground with branches, and point towards him with the thumb and say, “Eh, eh!” By this means he gets on the scent, and in the same way he gets gradually to know the age, sex, condition, etc., of the patient. And having, by help of those who consult him, learnt all these particulars, he sums it up in one grand oracular declaration: You come to consult about a sick person. It is an old man. It is the head of the kraal. You who come to me are his children. His eldest son is not here, however; but the second son. He is ill in such and such a manner. You do not suppose it is a mere disease. It has been brought about by poisons. You suspect some one. That one whom you suspect is a near relation. I must not mention him, etc.

In fact, he merely relates to them in his own words, in a direct and connected form, that which they have already told him in a disjointed, disconnected manner. The stronger mind governs the feebler, and leads it as it wills. It is very much like the game played by children, hiding and seeking. As the seeker

approaches the thing concealed, they say, "You are hot"; or if he is going away from it, they are either silent, or say "You are cold—very cold—very cold," and thus bring him back to the place of concealment.

An account of some such process adopted by a man called "a white witch" will be found admirably told in a novel which I remember reading many years ago, but to which I cannot refer, called "Sir Launcelot Greaves." The country bumpkin is made the dupe of the more intelligent; he first worms out of him by a series of artfully continued questions the secrets of his history and his connections, and then tells back to his astonished ear the information he has thus gained, which sounds to the rustic like a revelation from heaven. The natives themselves place very little confidence in doctors of this kind, but regard them as mere extortioners, who possess a greater power of devouring food than of divining. They are called Amabuda, that is, babbling, talkative, lying deceivers.

It may be worth remarking that in Abyssinia there is a word, probably of the same origin as this. Bouda is a term applied apparently to a demon or evil spirit which possesses people,—to a sorcerer, who has communication with the demon, very much like the Umtakati of Natal in his character, but having much greater power, and exercising it not by the coarse means of medicines and charms, but by a kind of spiritual influence:—it is also applied to the person possessed, and the disease which arises as the result of possession. The disease consists of a remarkable disturbance of the nervous system, resembling hysteria, and is sometimes, in certain unhealthy seasons of the year, epidemic. To counteract the Bouda, there is a host of exorcists, who exercise an extraordinary power over the patients, and, by adopting a strange system of treatment, relieve them.

2. The diviners who use sticks or bones are supposed to be of a more trustworthy character. The Omabukula izinti has three sticks, which by some means or other he causes to move about, and jump. It is said that if inquiry be made for a sick man, the sticks or one of them will be made to leap towards the person inquiring, and fix itself on that part of the body which corresponds with that which is diseased in the patient. Or if they ask a question, for instance, "is the brother of the patient here?" it will at once arise and jump on him if present.

The Amatambo or bones are each named,—man, cow, dog, etc. When the inquirer comes, without asking any questions the diviner throws his bones on the ground; if he comes to ask anything about a man, the man-bone shows agitation;—if about a cow, the cow-bone moves, etc. Of course one is unable to pass any opinion on this subject, not having seen any exhibition. But it is probably a sleight-of-hand system.

3. Diviners who ate impepo are supposed to be possessed of real powers of divination. The impepo is a medicine, which is used as incense in sacrifices, and to make the spirits of the dead propitious and their revelations clear. The diviner uses it frequently, and sleeps with it near his person. We may suppose that these diviners are persons who possess some natural clairvoyant and prophetic power. We have now seen enough to render this supposition not only quite possible, but probable. They hold the same position among the natives as prophets and seers and oracles among other people. And as in those other cases we find a great deal of mistake mixed with a little truth, so among the Zulu diviners a thorough sifting may find a few grains of real wheat in the midst of much chaff. But it appears to me one of the most unwise things to pooh-pooh it as a system of mere imposture and deceit practised by intelligent men on the credulity of the ignorant. It has been beautifully said, "a scientific truth is a very sacred thing." Every true man of science would feel this. But if a scientific truth is a sacred thing, so also are those individual scientific facts sacred upon which the truth is erected. The diviner, being naturally of an impressible nervous system, or, as the natives say, "having a soft head", only awaits some concurrence of circumstances,—illness, it may be, suffering, famine, excitement,—to bring out the latent power, similar to that which is found occurring in every part of the world. He then subjects himself to a discipline of fasting, watching, and bodily exhaustion, by which the natural power is fully developed. In some instances he practises the system of self-mesmerism; in others, he appears in a lazy, dreamy state to be cognisant of things beyond the power of the senses.

4. Those with familiar spirits are the most remarkable. The diviner of this order does nothing apparently. He merely sits still, and the answers are given by voices at a distance from him, which are supposed to be the voices of the spirits which are his familiars. But perhaps I cannot better bring before you the particulars of this class than by giving you two accounts which I received from eye-witnesses: A native kraal among the Amadunga, on the Tukela, having had some quarrel with their people, came into the neighbourhood of the lower Umkomanzi, and settled with a relative among the Amahlongwa. They lived with him as dependents in his village. Soon after settling there a young child was seized with convulsions, and, at once alarmed, they determined to consult a woman, living at some distance, celebrated as one who divined correctly by the aid of familiar spirits. Some young men, cousins of the child, went to consult her. On entering her hut and saluting her, she merely responded, but said nothing for some time. But at length, having taken

some snuff, she yawned, stretched, and shuddered, as is the custom with diviners when about to be the subjects of inspiration. She then said: "They who divine are not yet come;" that is, the spirits.

They remained waiting a long time, until they almost forgot the object of their coming; at last a voice as of a very little child, proceeding from the roof of the hut, saluted them. They started, and looked to see whence the voice came. The spirits said: "Why are you looking about? We merely salute you." They replied: "We look about because we cannot see where you are." The spirits replied: "Here we are. But you cannot see us. You will be helped not by seeing, but by hearing what we say." The case then proceeded exactly as in common divinations, excepting only that the woman was apparently passive, and the conversation was carried on by the voices, and the revelations made by them.

The spirits began by saying: "You have come to enquire about something." They were silent, and the woman said: "Tell them. They say you come to enquire about something." They smote the ground in token of assent. They continued, "That about which you come is a matter of great importance. An omen has appeared in some one." Again they smote the ground, assenting, and asked: "How big is the person in whom the omen has appeared." The spirits replied: "It is a young person." They smote the ground vehemently here, because, as they said, "they saw she had hit the mark."

The spirits then went on to say, the omen was bodily; that the person affected was a boy; that he was still young, too young to go out to herd. All this being assented to in like manner, the spirits went on feeling their way, as it were, to these things. They said: "Strike the ground, that we may see what it is that has occurred to the body of this little boy. There he is—we see him, it is as if he had convulsions." This was assented to with a most earnest snitting of the ground. The spirits said: "What kind of convulsions are they? Ask of us." The enquirers told the spirits they were going the right way, and required no assistance of them. They replied: "We told you to ask, because perhaps we are going wrong." They then went on to detail in a most minute and correct manner the time when the first convulsions took place, and the character of the attack, and what was done and said by the mother of the child and others. All this having been assented to, the spirits continued: "The disease resembles convulsions. You have come to ask us the cause." They replied: "Yes, truly, spirits, we wish to hear from you the disease and its cause; and also the remedy." The spirits promised to inform them, but first told them other particulars of their history. The

boy was the only child of his father. He was their brother. But not really their brother, but their cousin; he was their brother because their fathers were brothers. They then went on to say: "Smite the ground that we may see which is the older of the two. We say, boys, your own father is dead. Smite the ground that we may see where he died. There he is, we see him. He died, boys, in the open country. He was stabbed with an asagai. By what tribe was he stabbed? He was stabbed by the Amazulu on this side the Tukela. That is where your father died, boys."

They then told them that the disease was not properly convulsions, but was occasioned by the ancestral spirits, because they did not approve of their living in their relative's kraal, but wished them to have their own kraal. They told them among what tribe they were living, and to what tribe they belonged. That the person with whom they lived was their cousin on the mother's side. They exonerated the cousin from all blame, saying: "We see nothing wrong in the village of your cousin. He is good. Even no practising of sorcery there. We see that the village is clear of that. You eat with your eyes shut, for you have no reason to complain. What we tell you is this. It is the ancestral spirits that are doing this thing."

They then proceeded to tell them the remedy. "We have pointed out to you the ancestral spirits as the cause of this disease. When you reach home you shall take a goat. There it is -- a he-goat. We see it." They said: "How do you see it?" The spirits replied: "Be silent. We will tell you, and satisfy you as to its colour. It is white. That is it which has just come from the other side of the Ilovo, from the Amanzimtote. It is now a large he-goat. You shall sacrifice it, and pour its gall on the boy. Go and gather for him Itongo medicine. We see the Itongo. It says that your village must be removed from its present place and stand alone. Does not the Itongo ask, why you have lived so long in the village of another? The he-goat you will sacrifice to your grandmother. It is she who refuses to allow the child to die. Your grandfather has earnestly wished to kill him. We tell you this to satisfy you. We tell you that if the disease returns you may come again and take back your money. Now we have divined for you, so give us our money. They offered the money; and the spirits told the woman to take it. She took it, at the same time warning the spirits, that if it turned out that they had spoken falsely, she would give it back again.

The narrator, who was one of the persons engaged in the inquiry, goes on to say, "The woman with the familiar spirits sat in the middle of the hut, at the time of full daylight. The spirits cannot divine by themselves; when they are going to divine their

possessor goes with them. The possessor of them cannot divine ; she usually says very little, and she too inquires of the spirits, asking, ' So and so, when you say that, do you tell the people who have come to inquire of you the truth.' They replied they did tell the truth and that the people would see." So the possessor of the spirits took the money ; and the spirits said : " Go in peace, and give our services to the people."

They went home, sacrificed the goat, poured the gall on the child, plucked for him Itongo medicine, and gave him the expressed juice to drink, and made immediate arrangements for building themselves a new kraal. *And the child never had an attack of convulsions after ; and is living to this day, a strong healthy, young man.* The name of this woman is Umkankazi. She lived on the Umtwalume, by the sea ; a day and a half journey distant from the kraal of those who inquired of her. They had never seen her before.

Now we shall be all ready with our explanations. We may say she had gleaned and treasured up in her memory the history of these people ; that she had secret intelligence of all things going on around her ; that she had been told of their having brought home a white he-goat only a few days before going to inquire of her ; that the recovery of the child was a mere coincidence, and that the voices were produced by ventriloquism. Whether this is a correct explanation or not, the woman displayed much ability in playing her part. And where the spirits assert that they see, we are reminded of the old seers who, in their state of ecstasy, peered into the distant void, and saw visions of the past, present, or future, which sometimes proved to be a scenic exhibition of real fact displayed to their inner sense, and which they had no external means of knowing.

We have seen that various causes are capable of producing a similar condition of brain to that which is produced by the presence of external things, and so affecting the mind in the same way as it would be affected by objects actually present. Among other causes was mentioned the mind itself : we said that it is able, by an exertion of the will, to raise a spectre. We have also seen that the will of one person can in like manner be exerted on the mind of another, and cause it to feel and think as he pleases and to see spectres. It may, therefore, turn out to be really a fact that good and evil spirits also, in accordance with common belief in all ages of the world, act on the human mind in the same way, and may produce illusions of the eye, ear, or general sensation, by acting on the brain in a way similar to that of diseased blood, medicines, mesmerism, a person's own will or that of another. At least, as men of science, we must admit that, allowing the existence of an Eternal Spirit, and of spirits of an inferior

order, there is not only nothing impossible, but, on the contrary, there is the utmost probability that they should be in some relation to man, and be able to act in some way or other on the human mind. And the various facts we have been considering, proving that the mind can be acted on by powers without itself and independent of material agents, seem at least to intimate the mode in which that action may be effected, that is by producing in the brain a condition similar to that which is necessary to convey to the mind a knowledge of the outer world. And as it is necessary, in order that one mind should be able to act on another, that the two minds should be in a certain relation to each other, so we may suppose that the mind is capable of being influenced by either good or evil spirits only when it is in a state of sympathetic relation with them.

And it is possible that, by a careful collection and consideration of facts which it is now very much the fashion with men of science to set aside as belonging to accidents and coincidence, we may be led to conclude that whilst such phenomena, occurring as they do at all times of the world, in all conditions of society, and in persons holding the most opposite religious creeds, cannot be ascribed to the direct agency of good or evil spirits alone, yet they may be intimations that not only can the soul of man look out on the world around him, and become cognisant of it through the organs of sense, but that it can look in another direction, and without the organs of sense obtain a knowledge both of what is going on in the world beyond the sphere of the senses, and even look into futurity, and hold communion with the invisible world of spirits.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. J. W. JACKSON said: I trust that the paper to which we have just listened will prove but one of a series on this and similar subjects. We want to know more of the psychology of the savage. He has long been portrayed with more or less of accuracy from without. Here we are enabled to contemplate him, in a measure, from within. And whatever we may think of the *manner* in which Dr. Callaway has executed his well-intentioned task, we should not withhold our warmest approval of the purpose itself, that is, a delineation of savage belief in the supernatural from the standpoint of the savage himself. And if missionaries and travellers would only follow the good example of the reverend doctor, we should soon be in possession of data that could not fail to throw considerable light on the constitution and action of the human mind, as manifested not only in the simpler stages of social progress, but also in the earlier grades of humanity's organic development. Hitherto, from a variety of causes, this phase of anthropological investigation has been largely neglected, but the time is obviously approaching when not only the dreams, presenti-

ments, divinations, and ghosts of Caffres, but also of people nearer home, will be considered as legitimate subject-matter for inquiry. One thing is already clear, namely, that the psychology of the savage does not differ from that of the civilised man, nearly so much as might be supposed. His susceptibilities to, and consequently his impressions from, the supersensuous sphere, are radically the same as those of his more highly-organised and more educationally-developed brother. It yet remains, however, to be decided whether they may not differ in *form*, and in any future inquiries of this kind I would recommend that we endeavour to discover whether there be any distinctive characteristics attaching to the Negroid, Turanian, and Caucasian types in their experiences of the supersensuous, and their conceptions of the supernatural.

Mr. DENDY regarded this as the most prolix and monotonous paper read before the Institute during this session; indeed, it was a real infliction. What in it that was new was not true, and what was true was not new. The idea of spiritual influence over the true savage was an illusive fallacy, which no man of real science ought for a moment to entertain. The notion of phreno-magnetism, indeed the once popular phrenology itself, is a mere delusion, or the trick of an empiric. He would, therefore, blot out the word phrenology, the doctrine of the diaphragm, and craniology, the indications (!) of the skull, from our discussions on the Science of Man. He differed, *toto cælo*, from Mr. Jackson, to whom he would propose the term "noosology", the doctrine of the mind, or "encephalology", the science of the brain. He believed that the vaunted phenomena of the medium may be explained by the action of physical force without the agency of a spirit. He had himself presumed, some years ago, to illustrate this in "A Glean of the Spirit Mystery." The anecdotes of the prophetic clairvoyance of the Kaffirs and the Zulu ought to raise a blush in those who cite them as spiritual phenomena; if we hear nothing from south-eastern Africa more rational, the sooner the district is tabooed the better. He was sorry to be thus severe, but the caprices of this pseudo-philosophy were so much below common sense, that he was certain they would not, for a moment, be accepted by the Anthropological Institute. The reference to the cerebral pathology of these cases is but a repetition of long-accepted facts in psychology.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. G. Harris) observed that he thought the question had been fairly and comprehensively treated in the paper which had been read, and that our acquaintance with the notions of savage races with regard to topics of this nature was calculated to throw much valuable light on the subject. The general question was, he believed, well deserving of inquiry, and strictly within the province of the Anthropological Institute. It was one which ought to be discussed without passion or prejudice, but into which, unfortunately, passion and prejudice had been to a large extent introduced. Extraordinary, too, had been the oscillations between credulity and scepticism with regard to the subject. At one period every shadow was regarded as an apparition. At another period every apparition was regarded as a

mere shadow. Both modes of dealing with the matter were alike, and equally unphilosophical. No doubt the majority of cases of supposed apparition were the result of delusion, disease, or imposture. But this did not prove that every case of the kind might be so accounted for. What he desired to see effected, and what he thought was strictly within the province of a philosophical society, like the Anthropological Institute, to effect, was to lay down a strict test, which might be applicable to all cases of this kind, and by which the truth of them might be tried, and the evidence by which they were supported fairly and dispassionately examined and closely scrutinised. It was quite possible to frame such a test, and to apply it; and this was the only fair, and satisfactory, and philosophical mode of disposing of the entire subject.

Major Owen, Mr. Prideaux, and Mr. Charlesworth also took part in the discussion.

The meeting then adjourned.

MAY 29TH, 1871.

PROFESSOR BUSK, F.R.S., *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following new member was announced: GEORGE LATIMER, Esq., of Puerto Rico, West Indies, and Windham Club, London.

The following paper was then read :

A DESCRIPTION of the QUISSAMA TRIBE. By F. G. H. PRICE, F.R.G.S., M.A.I.

It is my intention to-night to read you a brief description, including a few of the most striking manners and customs, of the Quissama or Kisama tribe. They inhabit that portion of Angola which lies on the south of the Quanza river, occupying an extensive tract of country between the Atlantic seaboard on the west, and extending beyond the Libollo Alto on the east.

This country has recently been visited by Mr. Charles Hamilton, who has kindly furnished me with his notes, and given me every particular that came under his observation concerning these but little-known people. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this country has never been explored by any Englishman. The natives are currently reported, by the Portuguese in Angola, to be cannibals, which circumstance causes them to be held in great dread by those people.

When Mr. Hamilton was sojourning in the vicinity of Dondo, situated upon the right bank of the Quanza river, in 9 deg. 40 min. south latitude and 14 deg. 52 min. east longitude, he was informed of the arrival of two powerful kings or chiefs of the Quissama tribe upon the opposite side. They had made a journey from the interior of their country to consult a black man at Dondo, who had a great reputation as a man of intelligence and justice of character. This man was to enact the part of arbitrator in some dispute that they wished to settle amicably, the nature of which did not transpire. They kept up their state that night in a most regal manner by the light of perfumed wood torches, which quite illuminated the forest and whose fragrance was wafted across the river. Early the following morning some very large canoes put forth from the Quissama side of the river and proceeded to cross over; these contained the kings and a large retinue of followers or men of war, who, while crossing, kept up a most magnificent chorus, which was really melodious. Their dignified bearing upon landing was very striking; each man carried a spear. Mr. Hamilton remarked that there were a considerable body of men secreted in the forest on the opposite bank, which were, he presumed, in readiness in case of necessity.

They obtained the arbitrator's opinion in two days, during which time they expended a large quantity of ivory and other products of their country in Dondo and its vicinity. They gave a great entertainment to the umpire and his friends, Mr. Hamilton being among the number; he was the only white man who had the honour of receiving an invitation. They likewise asked him to return with them to their country, which he willingly did. The Portuguese bade him farewell, at the same time expressing their opinion that they did not expect ever to see him again. Mr. Hamilton was well received by the Quissamas; he found them an extraordinary fine race of men. They are mostly copper coloured. The height of the men averages about five feet eight inches and that of the women about five feet. Many of the men had a remarkably shy expression, and appeared naturally suspicious of strangers, as a great number had been kidnapped at various times by Portuguese traders.

Most of the men possess well-shaped heads, which are usually long, with narrow but high foreheads; their hair is long and coarse, it partakes more of a frizzled than of a woolly nature, yet there are many exceptions to this rule; as has before been remarked in the Malagash and other races, whose predominant colour is dark brown, some few having been seen with skins of a deep black, with woolly heads, broad noses and thick lips, not unlike the typical negro. Thus it was with the Quissamas. The traveller noticed that they differed much in colour and general

appearance. Many of them had large noses, which partook of the Roman and aquiline types, but the generality were broad or flat with thick lips. They possessed large chins with a scanty beard and moustache; only a few he noticed had whiskers. Most of the men had hair upon their chest, and the glans penis was of an enormous size. They are cleanly in their arrangements and persons; they rub their skins over with palm oil, occasionally mixed with a sort of red ochre, this gives them a remarkably glossy appearance. In this custom they remind one much of the Kaffirs. They are exceedingly muscular; possessing well-formed legs, and they walk with a graceful easy gait. They live to a great age. There are some portions of this tribe which still indulge themselves in the horrible and disgusting practice of cannibalism, but they reside further in the interior. Those occupying that portion of the country watered by the Quanza river are but rarely addicted to such evil practices. The few cannibals that Mr. Hamilton came in contact with, had a very different aspect to those I have now briefly described; they have squalid and unhealthy exteriors and do not move about with such a noble gait. Amongst these latter, any one who cannot pay his debts, or who is guilty of what they pleased to define as crime, is at once killed and eaten. Of late years the more enlightened of this tribe have consulted their criminals as to what punishment they would prefer. The choice usually given is, either death or to be sold as slaves to the Portuguese. It may appear strange to us, but these simple people prefer to be put to death to becoming the property of the Portuguese, for whom they evince the greatest contempt.

Their mode of execution of a criminal who is not intended for the pot is excessively simple; he is ordered to drink a dose of poison, which very soon takes effect and quickly puts an end to the poor wretch's sufferings. Others are tied up in a sort of sack, which is made from the bark of a certain tree, and are then thrown into the river, where they become food for the alligators or jacare, as they are there called, which are very numerous. Those who are usually selected to be eaten are they who have accumulated some kind of wealth or who have large families. The family and property of a man who is doomed as a fetich to appease the deity are confiscated.

The Quissamas possess a wonderful love for their country; they are as brave as any human beings can well be, fearing nothing. It is owing to this determination of character that the Portuguese have been kept out of their territory, added to which the physical condition of the country has been much against them. Although they have made several unsuccessful attempts, yet the Portuguese have never been able to subdue and annex them. When Dr. Liv-

ingstone passed through Angola on his great journey across the African continent, although he did not cross the Quanza river to enter their territory, he makes mention of the Quissamas in his *Missionary Travels* in the following words: "The Kisama are brave, and when the Portuguese army followed them into their forests they reduced the invaders to extremity by tapping all the reservoirs of water, which were no other than the enormous baobabs of the country hollowed into cisterns. As the Kisama country is ill-supplied with water otherwise, the Portuguese were soon obliged to retreat. Their country lying near to Massangano is low and marshy, but becomes more elevated in the distance, and beyond them lie the lofty dark mountain ranges of the Libollo, another powerful and independent people."

Mr. Hamilton was informed by the chief that he was the only white man who had really seen them "at home." Many of the natives were much astonished at him, especially with his beard, which, with the usual curiosity of savages, they persisted in pulling, in order to ascertain whether it was really growing. They were pleased to call him brother of God Almighty.

The chiefs did not appear to be at all exacting towards their people. They have no imposts, consequently they have no poll-tax to pay, as the natives have in some of our colonies. In times of war the men are all expected to assemble around their chief, and then it is said that even the women will fight.

The women are very symmetrically formed, and in many instances are really handsome. Their hair hangs down as low as the extremity of their ears; it is coarse and is ornamented at the end with teeth or balls of clay. Some of them wear ear ornaments. They have rounder heads and faces than the men, with black piercing eyes of a brilliancy truly marvellous. The ears of the young girls before they have been pierced are singularly small. Their clothing consists of a garment made from the bark of a tree, which is shredded, and at a distance does not look unlike the tinsel dresses worn by ballet girls in Europe. This dress is fastened round their waists, and reaches a very short way down their thighs, in fact scarcely far enough for decency, I should say these dresses are heavy, but decidedly airy.

Their great abhorrence for the Portuguese or anything belonging to them, prevents them from wearing any of their textures or calico cloths which so many Africans do. Upon their feet they wear sandals made from the bark of a tree. A few of the well-to-do women wear necklaces.

Upon the approach of childbirth the woman, as is the custom among so many primitive tribes, departs from home, as she has the idea that neither man nor woman should see her; so she goes forth unknown into the forest where she remains until she

has succeeded in delivering herself of the child. Shortly after the birth has taken place she returns to her hut, but the infant is secreted for a while; she does not tell anybody, and as time flows on no questions are asked; but should she be unfortunate enough to have a miscarriage and the infant were to die, then from mere fright she would run away far from the scene, otherwise were she discovered she would be put to death by poison.

The Quissamas appear to be a virtuous people, and, as far as Mr. Hamilton was able to ascertain, practised monogamy. They marry young, usually at the age of twenty, and have large families. It is worthy of observation that cripples are rarely met with.

The women carry large baskets made of plaited grass, slung upon their backs, supported by a band or strap which passes across their foreheads. This band is generally ornamented with the teeth of animals that they have killed themselves, such as those of the leopard, hyena, etc.

They have an excellent and simple method of bringing up their piccaninnies. In order to keep them out of harm's way, all the children belonging to the many-scattered huts of a district are brought together every morning, and are kept under the strict supervision of an old woman during the day; at night they return to their parents. This institution answers to our infant schools. Their nourishment consists of palm-oil and goats' milk. This arrangement enables the parents to attend to their agricultural pursuits, of which both sexes are very fond. The women, while doing field work, always have the young infants, such as cannot walk, strapped upon their backs. Hunting likewise occupies a considerable portion of the men's attention. The men evince strong affection for their wives and children. There are a very few women in comparison to the number of men, which circumstance, I think, would be fully accounted for, if we could determine that, at some time past, they destroyed their female offspring, as is the case with some of the hill tribes of India and with the Australian aborigines; but this, unfortunately, I am unable to ascertain, as nothing is known of their early history. Their huts are made in a similar manner and shape to those of the Kaffirs, which have been so frequently described. The interiors of many of them are lined with matting made by the natives of plaited grass. Some few of the huts are composed of wattle and daub. It is a singular sight to see a woman bare-legged climb up the gigantic palm-trees, with a calabash of immense size hung round her neck. As soon as the top branch is reached, and she succeeds in tapping the tree (which is done with a piece of rough iron), and finds that it gives vent, the woman then proceeds to suspend the calabash, in order that the liquid may flow into it. She then descends from the tree, and in the

course of about twelve hours again climbs up, this time to take down the calabash, which is full of palm beer. Mr. Hamilton compares this beverage in flavour to mead. The most difficult part was bringing the heavy calabash down from the tree without dropping it. The manner in which it is done is by adjusting it round the neck by means of a strap, and then slowly letting herself down. It is very dangerous, and it not unfrequently occurs that the woman falls and injures herself severely. This beer is partaken of with moderation, considering to what an extent some tribes drink it. Mr. Hamilton found that it was a very good time to visit the Quissamas when they had some fresh beer, as it made them particularly genial. A very little of it suffices to stupify one.

The soil of the Quissama country is rich, and the natives cultivate manioc, ground-nuts, etc., and trade successfully in palm oil; more so, Mr. Hamilton tells me, than the natives do on the Angola side of the river, as the Quissamas do not get molested by convicts, as the inhabitants do in parts of Angola. The Portuguese Government turn these wretches loose, to seek shelter where they can, and they stand at nothing; they even go so far as to turn the peaceable blacks out of their homes, for which they cannot obtain redress. Bees are very numerous throughout the country, and the Quissamas send a large quantity of wax down to Loanda, by way of Dondo or Massangano, annually. The honey is of a poisonous nature, and causes diarrhœa, which is exceedingly difficult to stop. Salt is likewise a great staple of trade; it is brought to Angola in crystals. The Quissamas are exceedingly independent, but very civil and hospitable to strangers—at least so Mr. Hamilton found them, and he had good opportunities of testing.

They are particularly partial to cheerful entertainments, such as singing and dancing, which are entirely free from Portuguese bestiality. The Quissamas are very proud towards other tribes, and the traveller never observed a Quissama deign to address an Ambonda. The latter would say to him, Why don't you speak to me? The Quissama man would reply: I cannot, you have masters, and slaves are beneath us. They even refuse to trade with them.

After the traveller had been with these people some time, he was favoured by being permitted to witness one of their great festivities, which took place at night, and reminded him somewhat of similar entertainments he had so frequently witnessed with the Zulu Kaffirs. The scene was illuminated by torches, added to which the bright light of the moon gave a very weird aspect to the affair. The chief, with his head men and Mr. Hamilton, were seated upon a mat to witness the dance; they had

small calabashes containing beer, placed before them for refreshment.

A large number of powerful athletic men, with muscular arms and legs appeared; they were naked, with the exception of a beautiful skin of some animal, which flowed from their shoulders. Some of them were armed with guns, mostly of rude make, being copies of some they had procured from the Portuguese, a few with bows, and others with spears, the shafts of which were made with the greatest care. They were carved with figures representing men and animals that they had killed. The spears were usually from four to five feet long, with iron heads fixed into the shafts. One man walked about in the midst of the dancers, bearing upon his head and shoulders the head of a young elephant. I was informed this was esteemed as a mark of great honour, and such is only conferred upon a man who has been a successful elephant hunter, and has presented the chief with a large quantity of ivory. Another man wore a lion's head, another a leopard's, and so on.

The women were *in puris naturalibus*. Most of them had a kind of musical instrument, not unlike a rude guitar, which nothing will induce them to part with. When this instrument is struck, it produces very thrilling and harmonious strains. The women formed groups of four, and sat down outside the dancers.

It was a puzzle for some time to Mr. Hamilton to know what had become of the piccaninnies, as they were not visible at this great gathering, yet he from time to time heard their cries. Upon looking about him he discovered that both small and great were hanging up in long rows on beams, just as they had been unharnessed from their mothers' backs. It was a strange sight! A big girl with a calabash of food, composed of palm-oil, manioc, and mealies mixed together into the consistency of pap, was feeding them in rotation, by giving each one as she passed down the row a spoonful of this porridge. The idea struck him at first sight that perhaps they were tied on to these boards for the purpose of compressing their heads, but this he found after inspection was an erroneous notion. A guard of four slaves stood to protect them from the wild animals. A few smart lashes from the rhinoceros-hide whip, would have been the punishment had they neglected to attend to these little ones.

The traveller was conducted to his hut, which smelt unpleasantly strong of beeswax; he, however, being much fatigued, fell asleep. He was shortly afterwards disturbed from his slumbers by hearing a great noise outside his hut; he distinctly heard the sharpening of knives, which caused the unpleasant remembrance to recur to his mind of these people being reputed cannibals. He already regretted that he had given up the protection of

Portugal by coming into this country, and he made up his mind that he was destined to be breakfast for the king. He was determined to put a bold face upon the matter, so he crawled out of the hut. His fears were at once dispelled, as he quickly saw that they were merely preparing to slaughter a pig, which some hours later he partook of.

Like all Africans, the Quissamas are very fond of snuff, which they push up their noses with the aid of a wooden or an ivory spoon, elegantly fashioned by themselves. They are likewise given to smoking tobacco. Should they meet a friend with his pipe in his mouth, they unceremoniously seize it, and smoke it as long as he is in conversation with them; but as soon as the conversation is ended the man refills the pipe, and returns it to the owner.

Great respect is paid to their doctors, but they are not held in such dread by the natives as those individuals are by the Kaffirs. They are known from other members of the tribe by their wild appearance, and by a number of fetiches which they carry suspended round their necks, and more especially by a small box which hangs upon their breasts, on the top of which is a man's head carved in wood.

The few medicines and operating implements are contained in this box. They practise the fine old recipe that Mr. Hamilton has remarked to be so much in vogue among the Kaffir medicine men, *i.e.*, that in cases where medicine has been administered, in order to give it proper efficacy, the doctor spits his saliva down the patient's throat.

These people believe in a supreme being. I quote a few words made use of by Sir John Lubbock in his "Origin of Civilisation", which fully carry out the impressions that fetichism made upon our traveller, *i.e.*, that "The negro believes that by means of the fetich he can coerce and control his deity." Mr. Hamilton saw a doctor operate upon three pretty young women, who fancied that they had a surfeit of blood, and that therefore it was necessary they should be bled. The arm was the place selected in each case for the operation. The doctor pretended for a long time that he could not find any vein; but when he did discover it, he thrust his coarse iron lancet into it, and the blood of course flowed copiously. The women were thus satisfied, and fancied that they had appeased their fetich, and went away contented.

It is a common practice for the women, after having connection with the men, to be immediately bled, as by so doing they imagine it will cause them to be fruitful.

Should a traveller pass through their country during a prosperous season, when all the crops and dealings have been satis-

factory, they look upon him as a fetich, and receive him well accordingly; but on the contrary, should a dearth occur, then the traveller had better make his escape as quickly as possible, as in all probability he would be severely handled.

After a death, it is the custom for all the friends of the deceased to gather together and dance over the grave, at which times they mourn, yell, and drink. The latter they always do at their own expense, as each mourner brings his own beer or rum with him. These festivities usually continue for eight days, during which time they generally make great disturbances, which not unfrequently end in bloodshed.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. BARRINGTON D'ALMEIDA remarked, with regard to the palm-beer drank by the Quissama tribe of Angola, that the natives of Ceylon, and those of the Malayan Archipelago, were also in the habit of drinking a palm-beer, but this was drawn from the cocoa-nut tree. The stem-bearing portion of the tree being lopped off that part of it in which the cocoa-nuts were suspended, was bent downwards, in the shape of a curve or a bow, at the end of which an earthen or wooden vessel was attached to receive the juice. It has an agreeable taste, and forms a very pleasant beverage. It is known amongst the Malays as the "neeroo manis", or sweet juice. When it is allowed to ferment, it is called "toddy"; and, taken immoderately, has an intoxicating effect. Cocoa-nut vinegar is sometimes made from this liquor.

Dr. CARTER BLAKE saw nothing to impeach the accuracy of Mr. Hamilton's observations respecting the intoxicating fluid, inasmuch as the Indians of Nicaragua extracted a somewhat similar liquid from one of the indigenous trees (*Acrocomia vinifera*, *Erst.*), and which was undoubtedly inebriating the instant it was tapped from the tree, without any time being given for fermentation.

Dr. CHARNOCK said the author of the paper spoke of the cannibals which he had come across as having a squalid and unhealthy exterior. It was probable that this might be attributed rather to the circumstances in which they were placed than to the eating of human flesh. It had never been proved that there was any appreciable difference between the flesh of man and that of other animals. It seemed to agree very well with those who indulged in it, for they were generally vigorous and robust people.

The following paper was then read:

On the RACES of PATAGONIA. By Lieutenant MUSTERS, R.N.

In this paper it is proposed to give the members of the Anthropological Institute a brief sketch of the manners and customs of the tribes which inhabit the tract of country commonly known as Patagonia, as a residence of twelve months, during which I traversed the entire length of the country, afforded me an oppor-

tunity of becoming acquainted with that little-known part of America and its wandering inhabitants.

The name Patagonia is here applied to the country extending from the line of the Rio Negro, about latitude 40 deg. south, to the Straits of Magellan; and is bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the Cordillera of the Andes, although the Chilians, for their own purposes, make the Pacific the western limit. The ordinary notion that this great tract is an inhospitable desert of high barren plains and rocky hills is only correct as applying to portions of the coast line and certain isolated districts of the country. The interior presents abundance of watered valleys, and pasture over which roam countless herds of guanaco and innumerable ostriches, by which name the Rhea Darwinii is generally known. And the numerous horses of the wandering tribes never fail to find food and water.

The Indians (to use the misnomer handed down from the first Spanish discoverers) inhabiting this country are divided into three distinct races, differing in physique and language, and, in some marked respects, in their modes of life. Besides these the Fuegians, or, as the Tehuelches call them, Yámonascunna, though properly inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, are sometimes found upon the south-west coasts of the mainland; with these I had no intercourse, and their habits have been described by many other travellers, and they are mentioned in order to avoid unnecessary queries.

The Patagonians are called by themselves Ahonicanka, or Tehonek, but are more usually known as Tehuelche or Tehuel people, a name probably given them by the Araucanians, and by which they are generally designated. These are divided into northern and southern. The northern generally frequent the district extending from the Santa Cruz river to the Rio Negro. And the southern range over the remainder of the country from the Santa Cruz river to the Straits. These two tribes are however much intermixed, and, as in the case of the party of Indians with whom I travelled, are to be met with hunting and roving in company in all parts of the country; they are, however, distinguishable by dialectical differences in accent, and differ slightly in physique, and in the frequent feuds and quarrels they display as much hostility as if they were distinct races.

The second race of natives is usually known as the Pampas or Penck, whose district lies between the Chupat river and the Rio Negro; these are an offshoot of the Pampas Indians of the plains north of the Rio Negro, having their head-quarters at Las Salinas near Bahia Blanca. They speak a distinct language, somewhat similar to, but not identical with, that of the Araucanos, and are notably different in physique and feature from the Tehuelche.

The third is a branch of the great Araucanian race, which has its head-quarters near Las Manzanas, in or about the same latitude as Valdivia, from which it is about sixty miles distant, on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. These may be described as the border race, seldom descending much to the south of the Rio Limay, though they cross the Cordillera to Valdivia and Araucania.

Of these three races the Tehuelche or Ahonican will occupy the chief portion of the time at my disposal, which will not admit of giving more than a short sketch of their manners and customs, and a few very brief remarks on the distinctive characteristics of the others.

The traditionary gigantic stature of the Patagonians is naturally, as I have learnt by experience, the first point as to which inquiries are made. Of the two divisions of the race, the southern slightly surpass the northern in height, but not in muscular development. The average height of the southern Tehuelches is rather over five feet ten, but I have seen many six feet, and some attaining six feet four; the great breadth of the chest and the muscular power of the limbs cannot fail to arrest the attention of any one seeing them for the first time, and it is easy to imagine that if such men came down to meet the first Spanish voyagers, they would, especially when seen dressed in their long mantles, appear of gigantic proportions. Some of the women whom I saw were remarkably tall. The wife of the cacique "Orkeke" was very little short of six feet, and possessed a corresponding robust form and strength of muscle, but the average female height did not exceed five feet six. I never remarked the weakness and want of muscular power in the legs attributed to them by some travellers. They are very active and good runners, and, in their games of ball, display great quickness and strength; they almost invariably travel on horseback, but as an illustration of their walking powers I may mention that two of them who volunteered to go to Buenos Ayres in the sealing schooner, after waiting for several days in the mouth of the river for a fair wind grew restless, and finally walked back to the trading station, a distance of between forty and fifty miles, without food, in about fourteen hours, and when they arrived did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been a long walk.

They usually have large heads covered with long black hair, dark sparkling eyes, which give a bright intelligent look to their oval faces. Their foreheads are generally good (retreating foreheads being rare) with peculiar prominences over the eyebrows. Their noses are often aquiline, but varying as in other countries, but generally with a marked breadth of nostrils. Their natural complexion is reddish brown, scarcely, however, deserving the

description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon cow. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, eamy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Potro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail, or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad belts ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrowbones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kou", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

horse they can catch ; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result ; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground : two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers ; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase ; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys ; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and piñones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable ; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the incensebush ; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, yerba, and rum ; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood : many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately

sent to the doctor or wizard of the tribe, and to the cacique and relations. The doctor, after bleeding himself with bodkins, and painting himself white, gives the order for the erection of a tent called by the Indians "the pretty house". The women immediately collect together their mandils, a description of wove blanket, obtained from the Araucanians, and sew them together to form the covering of the toldo; some of the women then place the necessary stakes in the ground to form the toldo, and the young men, taking the mandils, march several times round the stakes to frighten away the devil, the old women singing and crying in a discordant manner, and then draw the covering over the stakes; lancepoles, with brass plates and streamers attached, are placed in front, the whole forming a gay-looking toldo. The men then mount their horses, and after a short interval, mares are brought up and knocked on the head in front of the tent, after which the meat is either portioned out to the several families, or cooked on the spot, all being free to come and eat. Towards evening a fire is kindled in front of the mandil-tent, and a dance takes place after the following manner: The men and women sit down at the opposite sides of the fire, except the musicians, who sit in the tent; their instruments consist of a small drum formed by a piece of hide stretched over a bowl, and played on with two sticks, and a wind instrument, formed from the thighbone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is applied to the mouth, and played on with a small wooden bow, having a horse-hair string, after a preliminary tune and howling on the part of the old women. Four Indians, muffled up to their eyes in their mantles, wearing on their heads plumes of the so-called ostrich (*Rhea Darwinii*), step on the scene; they first of all pace majestically round the fire, then quicken their pace to a sort of little trot; after two rounds the time is quickened, they throw aside their mantles, and appear with their bodies naked, except the waistcloth, painted all over, each one wearing also a strap studded with bells, extending from the shoulder to the thigh. At the moment that the mantles are thrown on one side, they dance in quick time to the music in not ungraceful steps, at the same time bowing their plumed heads most grotesquely, in time to the taps of the drum on either side. When tired, they resume their mantles, retire for a drink of water, and then come on again dancing a different step. When they are fatigued, four more take their places, and so on, till all present have had their turn. When many Indians are present, these performances often last until a late hour of the night. The women, who only participate as spectators, mark their applause of any particularly good dancer by a howl which may be considered a sort of encore. I have on one or two occasions known these dissipations carried on for two or three evenings in succession.

The same ceremonial is observed on the attainment of puberty by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed; his ponchos, if he possesses any ornaments, bolas, and other belongings, are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womenkind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations; and the widow (who cuts her hair short in front, and assumes black paint) repairs bag and baggage to the toldo of her relations, if she has any, if not, to that of the chief. The body, sown up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, is taken away by some of the relations, and buried in a sitting posture with its face to the east, a cairn of stones being generally erected over the place. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's book; but as I never travelled much by the sea-coast, they may exist and be the burial-places of some of the Pampa tribe.

A curious custom prevails amongst these Indians with regard to their children. If a child hurts itself while playing, mares are slaughtered as a sort of thanksoffering that it did not die, a pretty

house erected, and a feast and dance takes place. If a child falls ill, the doctor is sent for, and if he says it will live, great rejoicing and a feast take place. The doctors, although they depend chiefly on incantations and magic to perform their cures, must have some other knowledge, which they keep to themselves, as I have known them perform two or three cures when the sick people appeared to be rapidly sinking. I will cite one instance of their treatment which came under my particular notice. The patient, a child of about a year and a half old, was very ill with influenza, and we all thought it would die. The doctor arrived in the *toldo*, and laying the child on its back, proceeded, after patting it lightly on the head, and murmuring an incantation, to place his mouth close to the patient's chest, and shout, as far as I could understand, to exhort the evil spirit to leave the child; after this he took it up, carefully handed it to its mother, who under his directions, smeared it all over with gypsum. This over, it was handed back to the doctor, who had been absent a minute. He then produced a hide bag, at the bottom of which were some charms; into this he inserted the baby's head several times, muttering incantations; after this a white mare was brought up, and after being painted with red ochre hand-marks all over, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten, care being taken, as before, that no dogs approached. The liver, heart, and lungs were hung on a lance, at the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Whatever effect these ceremonies may have had, the child recovered. On the death of a child great anguish is displayed by the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on on the march, is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, when fully caparisoned, strangled by means of lazos, the saddle gear, cradle, and all appertaining to the child burnt, the women crying and singing; the parents, moreover, throw their own valuables into the fire to notify their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out as a recompense for their services; however, they seldom benefit much.

I have now described most of the principal ceremonies observed amongst these Indians, but have not touched on their religion in any way. They believe in a good spirit gifted with much power, who made the Indians first, and also the animals necessary for their maintenance, which he dispersed from a hill visited by us in our wanderings, situated about lat. 47 degs. south, long. about 71 degs. 40 mins. west. This great spirit, however, according to their ideas, takes but little trouble as to their welfare; consequently most of their religious ceremonies are for the purpose of propitiating the evil spirits, which are several. The chief devil, however, who rejoices in the name of "Gualy-

chu", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with lance shafts or bolas. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, patting their heads and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordillera. Its power is confined chiefly to laming horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and inhale several puffs, which produces a state of torpor or insensibility, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his prognosticating a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realised, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen *not* by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

and sometimes his whole family, are destroyed. Casimiro, an enlightened Indian, for some time under the auspices of the missionaries at Santa Cruz, informed me that when his mother, or one of his wives—I forget which—died, he sent and had a woman killed who had caused the death by witchcraft.

Any instrument, the use of which is not understood, is looked upon as having some connection with witchcraft. For instance, a watch, which they look upon as bringing luck at play; my compass also was in frequent request, and a locket I wore round my neck was supposed to be a talisman securing the wearer from death.

I have not touched upon the language of the Tehuelches, but shall be happy to answer questions as to any words of common use amongst these people, and hope at a future time to publish a partial vocabulary of their language compiled during my residence amongst them.

From the data I was enabled to acquire I should estimate the numerical strength of their population at seventy fighting men of the south, and about two hundred of the northern, making with women and children a total of about 1,400.

Pampas.—North of the Sengel river, a tributary of the Chupat, in latitude 44 deg. south, and about thirty miles from the Cordillera, we joined company with a party of the Pampa or Penck Indians already alluded to. It is impossible now to do more than mention the chief characteristic differences which, besides that of language, mark them out as a distinct race from the Tehuelche. Their stature and proportions are smaller, their countenances are inferior in intelligent expression. The women, however, who seem to have appropriated the marks of the not infrequent admixture of Spanish blood, are, as a rule, better-looking than the Tehau of the Tehuelches; the men when mounted on horseback are armed with peculiar long light lances, the shafts of which are made from a cane resembling bamboo found in the Cordillera. As to their religion I have reason to believe that they are worshippers of the sun; they however practise similar rites to those already described for propitiating the evil spirit, who is known by the same name. One custom not practised amongst the Tehuelches is a ceremony the Pampas perform before drinking intoxicating liquor. Four lances are pitched in the ground, round which the chiefs walk, each carrying a pan-nikin containing a little liquor which they sprinkle partly on the lances and partly on the ground, muttering incantations all the time. These Pampa Indians I believe to have been the race armed with bows and arrows met with and described by the early navigators, and to have been the original inhabitants of the valley of the Rio Negro, where great quantities of flint arrow-heads and

stone pestles and mortars are found, near Indian burying places, dissimilar to those of the Tehuelches. As to the probable use of these mortars by people to whom grain was unknown, I am inclined to conjecture that they were used to pound the algarroba pods into a paste, such as at the present day forms an article of food amongst the Pampas. These Indians are expert in the use of the sling, with which they used formerly to chase the eamy, partridge, and other small game abounding in the Rio Negro. The numbers of the Pampa tribe south of the Rio Negro are gradually diminishing, principally by the agency of smallpox. At the time of my visit their whole population was perhaps under six hundred.

The third distinct tribe are called, by the Tehuelches, Chenna or Araucanos; some of them are also known as Moluche; they are also called Manzaneros from the station of Las Manzanos or the apple-trees, the headquarters of their chief cheoque. These are an offshoot of the warlike Araucanian race, who ever since the first settlement of the Spaniards have waged war against the invading race with varying success but have never been conquered. They are a decidedly superior race in intelligence, knowledge, and character. They are at once recognisable by their finer features and fresh complexions; they cut their hair short, and are, as a rule, well dressed, in ponchos woven from home-made yarn by their women. The general appearance of the first party we met with, while still too far off for the colour of their eyes to be discernible, struck me as so peculiarly European that I remarked to the Tehuelche next me in the ranks, "Perhaps these are my countrymen?" He answered, "They are very white, but very much devil; perhaps they'll fight us." These Indians are far less migratory in their habits, and greatly dislike travelling, more especially the women, who invariably remain behind when the men go on hunting excursions, or pay visits to the settlements, either for peaceful trade, or, as frequently happens, for the purpose of plunder. Their ceremonies are much the same as those of the other Indians; they possess some knowledge of precious stones, to which they attach value as having particular virtues. Some clans of these Indians north of the Rio Limay or Rio Negro occupy stationary dwellings made of skins, but much larger, and exhibiting greater regard for comfort than the toldos of the Tehuelches. They also possess large flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and horses. In the country apples and piñones abound, which they gather every autumn. Of the apples they make cider, and also prepare an intoxicating drink from some other plant; I think the algarroba.

Like the Pampas, they are armed with long light lances, which they use with great dexterity. The chiefs maintain strict disci-

pline, and I have seen their assembled forces, each squadron with a captain or leader at its head, manœuvre like disciplined troops. Their language appeared to me to be much softer in sound than that of the Tehuelches, and resembles in some measure the Pampa tongue. The Moluche women are remarkable for their modesty and good looks, one of their chief charms being their beautiful black hair, which is of great length and fine texture, and of which they are justly proud. This race alone resisted the aggressive power of the Peruvian Incas, and a conjecture that some of the fugitives of that Royal race took refuge amongst them, was suggested to my mind by the light complexion of some of their families, and by the occurrence of the name "Manco" as that of a man who was killed during my sojourn in their country, and who, I was told, was the descendant of a great chief. Altogether these Araucanians are a far higher and more cultivated race than the Pampas or Tehuelches. Their numbers in Patagonia proper, viz., south of the Rio Limay, may be estimated at three hundred men, women, and children, which at a rough estimate would give the numbers of the Indians of Patagonia as amounting to about two thousand five hundred.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. D'ALMEIDA begged to observe, on the races of Patagonia, that he saw a similarity in some of their customs with those of the Chinese and the eastern races. Painting or daubing the body with the dyes or flour extracted from the leaves or roots of farinaceous plants, was a common practice with the Javanese and the natives of the Malayan seas. They burnt their hair for similar reasons to those assigned by the Patagonians. The offering of the bull's-head was also common among some of the Javanese. Mr. d'Almeida witnessed one of these ceremonies. They call it the "festa Boomie", an offering to earth. As to burning the goods and chattels of the deceased, Herodotus mentions that the Scythians practised this ceremony. Fenimore Cooper described a similar ceremony, he thought, in his "Last of the Mohicans", and it is a subject of a poem by Longfellow. The Chinese, like the Patagonians, also believed in the existence of a good spirit, though they bowed down and burnt candles to the bad spirits, because the latter required more praying to than the former. He made these observations merely to show the similarity of customs prevalent amongst nations and races, though wide apart from each other.

Lieut. MUSTERS said that the method of ascertaining an average height of the Patagonians, and also the difference of stature between the northern and southern tribes, was obtained by the author of the paper taking the average of eighteen able-bodied men, in whose company he travelled. Of these, ten were of the northern tribe and eight of the southern, the latter exceeding the others in a small measure in average height. The obsidian and flint articles

were confined to scrapers used by the women for cleansing skins, and flints for obtaining fire. There were no traditions regarding the migrations of tribes extant amongst the Indians. It was impossible to obtain information of their forefathers from the Indians. The disposition of the Tehuelches was, when not excited by drink or warfare, cheerful and good-humoured. They treated Lieut. Musters with great kindness. They were particularly fond of their children. During the author's visit and travels in the country, all the tribes were mustered for political purposes: being on the staff of the head chief, he took notes of the numbers of each tribe: from these data he made his calculations, allowing four women and children to each able-bodied man. The numbers are probably slightly under than over the mark.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the above: viz., Mr. J. J. Monteiro, Col. Lane Fox, Mr. Charlesworth, Mr. Wade, Dr. Richard King, Mr. Wake, Mr. H. Howorth, Mr. Lewis, and the Chairman.

Dr. W. EATWELL contributed the following note "*On Chinese Burials*".

I was surprised to find the whole island of Koolungsoo (Amoy) studded with tombs, there being apparently no special place of burial; and I subsequently learned the explanation of the fact. The Chinese, in burying a friend or relative, attach much importance both to the locality and to the position in which the body is placed. If misfortune visit a family or individual after the death of a relative, it is generally attributed to the probability of the body having been placed in an uncomfortable position or unsuitable locality. Priests are, therefore, consulted, the body is exhumed, and a fresh interment takes place under circumstances more favourable. This fact explains the great anxiety which the Chinese display to carry off their dead and wounded, which they have frequently been seen to effect in face of a heavy fire. These tombs are very neat, and are always surrounded by, or included in, a more or less circular space, bounded by a stone railing, or, more generally, a slightly raised kerb-stone boundary.

There are, on the eastern side of the island, directly facing the city of Amoy, several tombs of Englishmen, Spaniards, and Portuguese, and it is pleasing to see that these have been religiously respected by the Chinese. Amongst the tombs which I have mentioned is one in which time has not succeeded in effacing the inscription. It bears the date of 1697, and covers the remains of — Duffield, son of Commander Duffield, of the *Trumba*, from Surat. Some of the tombs appear of greater age than the above, and, therefore, may be supposed to have been erected nearly two centuries ago. The state of these tombs testifies to

the respect which the Chinese entertain for the remains of the departed.

One day, whilst wandering amongst the rocks,* we discovered in a deep space, enclosed by two fragments of rock lying one against the other, a large jar, covered by a lid cemented down by wax. On opening it, we found it to contain the bones of a human skeleton. These were arranged with great order. The long bones of the upper and lower extremities were placed round the circumference of the jar in an upright position, and within these were placed the pelvis, the scapulæ, the tarsal and metatarsal and the carpal and metacarpal bones. These latter (the bones of the hands and feet) were wrapped in paper, apparently with the view of preventing the bones of different extremities becoming mixed. The interstices between the whole were filled with shreds of paper; and the skull was placed on the top of all, enveloped in a red woollen cap sewn tightly over it. The bones appeared evidently to have been buried for some length of time; to have been then exhumed and placed in their present position. I am not acquainted with the class of persons who bury in this manner, nor do I know the object sought by such mode of interment.

The above notes were made during our temporary occupation of the island of Koolungsoo during the summer of 1842. The place had been captured, and the inhabitants removed from the island to the city of Amoy, on the mainland.

THE following notes were communicated by Dr. CAMPBELL, and taken as read.

On the Discovery of a Cairn at Khangaum, by J. J. Carey, Esq.—In October last, I saw an announcement of the discovery of numerous stone circles, mounds, and cairns, at Khangaum, in the province of Nagpore, Central India, by Mr. Carey, the Executive Engineer there. I addressed him, requesting that he would favour me with some account of his explorations for this Society; and I have now the pleasure to communicate his replies, with sketches of some of the articles found in excavating one of the mounds at that place, of which there are about one hundred and fifty altogether.

A. CAMPBELL.

March 18th, 1870.

Khangaum, Berar, Dec. 26, 1869.

My dear Sir,—At present I shall answer yours of the 27th October briefly; but I trust, before long, to send you a copy of a hurried report I wrote just before leaving Nagpore. I had intended sending sketches along with this report; but my time has been so taken up

* Bald masses of granite bared by disintegration and denudation.

since I came down here on the first State railway made in India, that positively I have not had time to finish the sketches I had commenced. You shall not fail to have them, and an account of my "diggings", which were about one hundred miles from Kamptee, west. I accidentally spied them whilst riding along a jungle-road to join a tiger-shooting party. Unfortunately, the rains forced me away from the locality; otherwise I might have made a more successful find. In all my wanderings in India, I have never seen anything like these stone circles and mounds. Near Jurrespore, I was very lucky in finding stone celts (these mounds or graves contained nothing but iron implements) and stone chips and cores; the former were always found on "mahadeos", under a teipul or neem tree; the latter in "spots" on some raised elevation. Walking along, you would accidentally come upon spots, and then pick up pockets full; it seems to me that when men found good flints, agate, jasper, etc., they squatted down working away at them, making their knives, arrow-heads, etc. Stone "whorls" I have found, but in no particular spot. I have got a stone celt, seven inches and a half in length, exactly in size and form like one an uncle of mine found in Guernsey. I have got a couple of stone celts found in Australia, just like the Indian ones; in fact, they are as similar in all parts of the world as our table-knives are now.

I remain, my dear sir, yours truly,

J. JAMES CAREY.

Khangaum, Berar, Feb. 5, 1870.

Dear Sir,—I send by pattern-post a rough sketch of the principal things I found in digging into those stone circles. See also enclosed printed paper. I had intended sending you drawings of all the stone celts, whorls, bronze celts, spear-heads, chips, cores, etc., I have; but all my heavy kit being in Nagpore, I am unable to do so. At some future period I hope to do so.

This morning, I heard that further diggings had been ordered by Government to be made at the same place as I made mine; "but that only a few things had been found; viz., an earthen vessel, with a handle in the form of a fish, a knife, and one or two other things, but nothing in gold." "In one there were several blocks of cut stone, all the same shape."

I remain, dear sir, yours very truly,

J. JAMES CAREY.

I send drawings of two celts (stone): the one to the right was found by me on a "mahadeo", under a banian tree, about thirty miles north of Jubbulpore; the other was given to me by an officer of the 40th, who brought it from Australia. I cannot tell you the locale, as my diary is at Nagpore.

Memorandum by J. J. Carey, Esq., Executive Engineer, Khangaum, dated the 8th August, 1869.

The Scythian remains, or stone circles, lately found by me near the village of Khywarra, about sixteen miles east of Arvee, in the

Wurdah district, were opened by desire of Mr. Morris, Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces. The stone circles are on the east bank of a nullah running due north and south, the ground rising very rapidly 12' 5" in 1400 feet. I should think there are quite one hundred and fifty of these mounds, dotted about in no regular form, along the edge of this nullah. In outward form they are precisely the same as those illustrated in Captain Meadows Taylor's book, with large stones rather evenly placed round. Numbers of these stones appeared to me to have passed through stone-dressers' hands, they having five sides rudely shaped, which makes me think they were originally intended to have been placed upright, not in the position found; however, nothing was found to indicate that any building was erected here; still it is strange that these five-sided stones should be there, and found lying flat on the ground. I am sure they were never intended to be placed in that position. The mounds in every case were hollow at the top, making me think that a chamber would be found underneath; that the stones forming the ceiling had probably given way; but, on opening two, nothing was found to guarantee such an idea.

I commenced digging operations on the principal mound in the place, 40 x 13 in diameter, there being more cut stone surrounding it, and three or four in the centre; very great care was taken in digging and removing stones. The top of one of these five-sided stones was hit upon close to the surface, and in the centre of the mound; this was carefully left standing while operations were going on up to one foot deep. Nothing but loose stones and earth was removed, until, about fifteen inches from the surface, broken red pottery began to show on the south side. At last, some stiff leaden-coloured clay was found, fast binding pieces of pottery; and, on close examination, large quantities of teeth were found, which evidently had been put into a gurrah and imbedded in this clay. These bones are, I believe, the back teeth of horses, in very good preservation. This clay then began to be found in patches, in which, as a rule, you always find pottery and other implements, and appeared in no other place than on the south side.

I was standing one evening looking on, when all of a sudden I saw a "find", and immediately jumped down into the hole, and, with the greatest care, dug out of the clay, well cemented together, two copper bells, two round copper (in my opinion) ear-rings, and an iron axe. These I handled with the utmost care, vainly hoping that the whole would remain in this solid state; but, after a few days, the heat of June soon dried up the clay, and the whole became detached. This, and a few iron implements and a gold ring, were the only things found. This excavation was carried down about 2·6 feet.

In the other we went down over three feet from the surface, and nothing but iron was found, very rust-eaten. The only implement in good preservation was a kind of saucer for holding oil, which had a handle, with a hook to hang by, and a spiral spring, which must, I think, have been wound round a stick.

On a Kist found in Argyllshire, by Dugald Sinclair, Esq.—During last session, I presented to the Ethnological Society two reports from the Rev. Mr. Mapleton on prehistoric remains found in the neighbourhood of the Crinan Canal, Argyllshire, which were published in the *Journal*. I have now to submit a note from Mr. Dugald Sinclair, on an urn and kist found by him on the south side of West Loch Tarbert, Argyllshire. This site is about thirty miles distant from that of Mr. Mapleton's findings. I am endeavouring to procure reports from other parts of Scotland, similar to Mr. Mapleson's, for this Institute.

March 13, 1871.

A. CAMPBELL.

Gartuagrenach by Tarbert, Argyllshire,
October 17th, 1870.

My dear Sir,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter, and shall endeavour to give you the best description I can of an ancient relic which was discovered on my late farm of Kilchamaig eighteen years ago.

Whilst one of my servants was ploughing on a field in that farm, his plough came in contact with a flag-stone, which lay within about six inches of the surface. On turning up the flag, he discovered under it a small sepulchre, about two and a half feet long and eighteen inches broad, within walls, formed of coarse flag-stones on each side, and at both ends, and at bottom. Within this small enclosure he discovered an urn of rather a tasteful shape, neatly notched on the outside with a shell, or some such tool, and with knobs round the top of the urn, perforated as if for the purpose of running a cord through these perforations, to be used by the pall-bearers. Within the urn there was a quantity of material, something like ashes, and along the bottom of the sepulchre there was a quantity of human bones, in small pieces, which, for the most part, fell into dust on exposure to the atmosphere. There was no lid to the urn when brought to me; but my servant was of opinion that it had been broken in the disinterment. The flagstones referred to were put on edge, and were of the quality of rock prevalent in that neighbourhood. I got the grave secured by the flagstone which originally covered it, depositing, at the same time, what remained of the bones, which, however, had become very much crumbled by exposure to the air.

The grave was discovered in rather an elevated part of a field, about two hundred yards off the more modern burying-ground named after St. Michael; but, although I made diligent digging all round the sepulchre referred to, I did not discover anything appertaining to a place of interment. From the short space within the grave, and size of some of the bones, it is evident that the body which it contained must have been burnt before interment, and that probably the urn contained the ashes of the heart and other vital parts of the body; and, as no burning of human bodies took place in this country after the introduction of Christianity, I, therefore, think that we may safely

conclude that such took place in this case fifteen hundred years ago. I enclose a rough sketch of the shape of the urn.

I remain, my dear sir, yours very truly,

D. SINCLAIR.

Arch. Campbell, Esq., M.D.

Dr. GEORGE HARCOURT exhibited a Flint Implement, found near a stream flowing from Virginia Water; and a Bronze Celt discovered in the root of a tree, in the parish of Thorpe, Surrey.

The meeting then separated.

JUNE 19TH, 1871.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read, and confirmed.

GEORGE LATIMER, Esq., of Puerto Rico, West Indies, was elected a Local Secretary for Puerto Rico.

The following presents were announced, and the thanks of the meeting voted to the respective donors:—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the AUTHOR.—*Progrès de l'Hellenisme* Conference, 1871. Major Millingen.

From the AUTHOR.—*Moas and Moa Hunters*. Dr. J. Haast.

From the ACADEMY.—*Proceedings, Memoirs, etc., of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.*

From the INSTITUTE.—*The Canadian Journal*, vol. xiii, No. 1.

From the EDITOR.—*American Eclectic Review*, May 1871.

From the SOCIETY.—*Bulletin de la Société Impériale de Moscou*, No. 2. 1870.

From the EDITOR.—*Nature*, to date.

From Dr. W. A. HAMMOND.—*The Journal of Psychological Medicine*, April 1871.

From the INSTITUTION.—*Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, No. 62.

From the EDITOR.—*The Food Journal*, June 1871.

From the SOCIETY.—*Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*. 1869.

Professor BUSK, F.R.S., exhibited two human jaws of remarkable thickness, found in the superficial deposit of a cave near Sarawak, Borneo.

Mr. JOSIAH HARRIS exhibited, from the Macobi Islands, off the coast of Peru, wood-carvings, pottery, and cotton rags. The rags extended many hundred yards, with an average thickness of five feet, and below a deposit of several feet of guano. The wood and pottery were discovered at a depth in the guano of from fifteen to forty-five feet.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON communicated the following note "*On a Kitchen Midden in Cork Harbour.*"

I have much pleasure in recording the existence of two hitherto, as far as I am aware, unobserved heaps of shells, of the kind now generally known by the name of kitchen-middens, situated on two small islands, at the back of the estuary forming Cork Harbour. Last August, while enjoying a boating excursion, my attention was attracted by some white marks on the shore; which, from my observation of those on the coast of Denmark, I inferred were kitchen-middens; and, on landing, I had much pleasure in finding my conjecture to be correct.

The islands are named on the Ordnance Survey maps, sheet 76, Brown Island and Brick Island, and consist of a mass of loose earth, full of boulders of all sizes, the *débris* of some old sea bottom. There are no trees, nor, as far as I recollect, any evidence of their existence at present on the islands; which are now overgrown with rough heather, furze, and ferns. The heaps of shells are situated on the south side of each island, and are about three hundred feet long, from three to five feet thick, for about a hundred feet, and consist principally of oyster-shells. There are other shells, but in very small numbers. The sea has washed away a considerable portion of each heap, thus opening up a good section, and affording facility for exploration. Part of the shells have been removed for agricultural purposes from that on Brown Island; and there I found, by observing a thin layer of charcoal visible in two places in about the middle of the heap, that the aborigines who collected the shells understood the use of fire. The sections exposed gave evidence of different periods of occupation of these sites, by a looseness in some places and compactness of the shells in other parts. There was a visible regularity or placing together of the shells in parts of the heap on Brick Island.

I visited these kitchen middens again on the 8th of September, but regret that my exploration was very imperfect: they will, I am sure, repay further examination. Their position on two small islands, approachable only at one fordable point, shows that the people had a good idea of security, encamping on places easily defended, either from wild animals or assaults of other enemies, while they indulged in a good feast on the oysters.

With the exception of the charcoal, I found no evidence of civilisation, no split bone or flint flake ; nothing but stone hammers or pounders, varying in size, some larger than a man's head, but all of the same round boulder-like form, similar to the stones that formed the beach. Two from the middle of the heaps are exhibited. Mr. R. Etheridge, of the Geological Survey, has kindly examined the shells exhibited : there is nothing peculiar about them ; such are common on all parts of the coasts of the British Islands.

- c. *Ostrea edule*, junior and senior Oysters.
- b. *Mytilus edulis* Mussels.
- Cardium edule* Cockles.
- a. *Pullastra decussata*
- Littorina littorea* (vulgaris) Periwinkles.

Mr. J. W. FLOWER exhibited a large jade implement from New Zealand.

The following paper was read :

MODE of PREPARING the DEAD among the NATIVES of the UPPER MARY RIVER, QUEENSLAND. Extract of a letter dated October 1870, from Mr. ALBERT McDONALD. Communicated by W. BOYD DAWKINS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.

THE following account describes some of the customs which the "black fellows" are so careful to conceal from the English settlers. Mr. McDonald, having succeeded in gaining the confidence of the natives, was treated in every respect as one of themselves. A "black fellow"—the stepson of a chief—had died, and he resolved to see what they were going to do with him. What he saw was as follows :

When we reached the camp, there were some half-a-dozen boys and young men (whites) who had walked out to see them. The blacks were very glad to see me, for the poor black fellow was dead, and they asked me to send all the others away ; so I explained to them that they had better go, and I sent George with them. When they had fairly got away there came the "tug of war"; the natives ordered me home. I put my brightest smile on, and reminded them of their promise ; still no use ; "never white fellow see black fellow dead." I considered for a few minutes what I could do ; and, while considering, I took a good look at the whole of them. I counted ten men, and about as many women, and the usual accompaniment of boys and girls and little children ; and then on a sheet of bark that was across a couple of saplings lay the corpse, covered with opossum rugs.

I saw they were mostly looking at me, and the men certainly did not look pleased. I then called my man Billy aside, and asked him the reason, and gave him to understand that when I made them a promise I always kept it, and now I expected the same treatment from them, and that I was fully determined to stay and see the operation. To make my story short, I got a reluctant consent from two of them; they then explained to the others; some of them said "all right", but some of them said nothing, but their looks meant that if they only dared they would get rid of me.

I was now informed that the ceremony never took place in the camp, and that they were going at once, so I had better follow. Four of them got the body on their shoulders, and walked away at a smart pace right out into the forest, and all followed, without any attempt at order. As I kept pretty near the last, I had a fine view of this funeral procession. First went the four carrying the body on their shoulders; and alongside of them the mother dancing and wailing all the way, and a sad sight she was, all covered with blood; and there was the step-father, roaring at the top of his voice every now and then, and the men all around with spears, and "hullah" crying and roaring; and, of course, all were quite naked. I got into conversation with a "gin", who seemed very intelligent, and she explained to me that there were certain places only where they skinned them, and that we were not going very far; nor did we, for in about twenty minutes we came to a halt: down went the corpse; and, after taking a good look round and talking the matter over, they prepared to commence. Those who were not going to take an active part, sat down at a little distance. I was now, I admit, a little excited. My long wished for scene was about to be observed, and I knew that to attempt to take notes on paper would at once arouse their suspicions, and perhaps spoil all. So I tried hard to prepare my mind to note as much as possible.

First thing, the chief took his station at the head of the body, spear in hand, and remained there the whole time, evidently on the look-out for some expected enemy (who did not come); he also at intervals kept up the roaring. Several of the men and women collected wood, and started a fire on each side of the body—perhaps six feet from it. While the fire was burning up, a good supply of bark was collected, and some put near each fire. I then observed one of them bring in "bloodwood" saplings, about four or six inches in diameter, cut into lengths of about five feet each. They were held in the fire till the bark was all charred off; then they were carefully put leaning against a tree on their ends. All seemed now ready; some of them lighted their pipes, and again all eyes were directed on me. I

was leaning against a tree on the side of the ring next to home, although I knew perfectly well that, if they really intended mischief, it would be of little use running away from their spears. A couple of them then came up to me, and told me that I was a good fellow, "no gammon about me"; I was admitted amongst them, and I was all the same as a black fellow now; and they told me that if I saw any other white coming they would tell me, and I was to go and persuade them to go away; for they said (clutching their spears) "we will not let them come"; and really they looked as if they would certainly be as good as their word.

The rugs were then removed, and this was the signal for a fresh outburst of grief; the women again cut their heads with the tomahawks; and I can give you my word that there was no doubt about it, for at a distance of several yards I could hear quite distinctly the thud of the weapon upon the bone. They cut the crown of the head. When they had had a few chops each, the men took the tomahawks from them; they quieted down again, and at length commenced operations. I then saw that my Billy was chief operator: he and another got each of them a piece of bark, and held it in the fire for a minute, and then applied it to the skin of the body, beginning at the breast. As the skin got heated, the outer skin was peeled off with their nails in little pieces; in fact, I think it was more like singeing and scraping it than anything else. The small pieces of skin were carefully put in a little "dilly bag", and now the charred saplings came to be used. As soon as a little piece was cleared off the black skin, the skin underneath looked like a dirty reddish white, which was at once blacked with the charred bark. The wind was very changeable, and, as there was a queer smell that came from the legs, I kept moving with the wind. Whilst they were busy, an old "gin" came up, who had been away getting yams; but, as soon as she got close up, she seized a tomahawk, and commenced the skull chopping game; the chief ran up, and, after a struggle, got it from her; he then very affectionately wiped the blood from her head with a handful of grass; she then came and sat down at the head of the corpse, and, crying very hard, put her foot on the head. I noticed that every new comer (there were several) did the same.

As the skinning or scraping was a tedious process, I had a little time to spare, and had a good long talk with the chief and several of the other men who were on the look-out. I was glad when they asked me what I thought about death, what became of them, etc. I had a good opportunity, and did my best to explain the hope which we have. I should have said that, as soon as the body was uncovered, an old man, who is said to be

king, commenced and carried on an imaginary conversation with the spirit which they still seemed to think was in the body. They asked all kinds of questions, such as "Where are you now?" "What sort of place is it?" "Have you seen your father yet?" "What is he doing?" and then the refrain, "Why did you leave your poor old mother? She has no son to hunt for her now."

When the breast was all scraped and charred, they got ready to turn the body, and evidently this was an important part of the ceremony. All hands got close round, and then one at the head and one at the feet; he was lifted steadily but quickly, and turned completely over, the whole mob of them giving a great whirr as they did so. I at once remembered having seen them doing the same thing on their grand Corroberie; the men all stoop and give their arms a long swing from right to left, at the same time making the whirring noise. The back was done in the same manner, and then all hands had a smoke. The body now shone and looked quite smooth, as the charcoal had been well rubbed in, and it was lying straight stretched out, the arms at right angles with the body, back uppermost. A piece of red raddle was now produced, and Billy commenced to mark it, all of them at the same time giving their opinion as to how the marking should be done. Standing over the body, he felt for the backbone, close up to the neck, and then with his fingers measured what seemed about two inches on each side of the backbone close up to the neck, and then drew a line down each side of the backbone, right over each hip, and so on down to the ankle of each leg. Then from the top of each of the lines, beginning at the neck, lines were drawn at right angles down each arm to the wrist. After the lines were drawn Billy sat down for a few minutes. I was at a loss to know the meaning of these red lines; why two of them should be made I could not make out. Presently Billy and another black got a knife each, and the real skinning commenced, and in no nice or gentle fashion. Billy, putting the knife in just as I would have done into the hide of a bullock, made a long straight cut following the line, and then commenced to skin in earnest. Very soon the arms were skinned, the hands dexterously cut off at the wrists, and left attached to the skin; the sides were next skinned and right down over the hip, thus leaving a strip of about four inches wide down the middle of the back. When as much was skinned as they could get at without turning him over, this strip was commenced with, but I think they were fully half an hour taking off this narrow strip. Four men took hold of the body, one to each arm and leg; a fifth held his head between his legs and hands; another now got across the body, started the strip with the knife until he raised a piece that

he could get hold of, he then fixed his feet firmly and got ready for a pull.

The old king now knelt by the head and spoke in a very excited manner to the dead man, after which they gave a great pull at the skin; but it appeared to me that he was very unwilling to part with this portion of it, for they had to appeal very often to him, and once or twice they had to ease it with the knife. At length they stripped down as far as they could. The body was then turned over for the last time—the strip then had the appearance of a tail, as it was put between the legs. They now skinned the front of the legs, and then pulled away at the tail again—it was pulled right up over the privates. I now saw by this method the skin was entire at the front, and it seemed to me that it was the best way it could be done. During the whole time the head was wrapped up in a cloth, never uncovered; now when the whole body was skinned, they had the final conversation with him before cutting off his head. It came out then that grog was the primary cause of the fit of madness. I suppose it was *delirium tremens*, for the last words were, "why were you so foolish as to eat so much grog?" Poor fellow, his head was now cut away, and as it was too late to stretch the skin that day, it was put in a "dilly-bag." The skin is stretched on spears and dried in the sun, the spears being so charmed by the process that ever after, when they are thrown at an enemy, they cannot miss; hence, when a death takes place, all are anxious to get their spears used.

As soon as the skin was disposed of, Billy cut off the legs at the knees, then opened out the thighs to get out the bones, which were twisted out of the joints; the shoulder blades were left attached to the arms at first, and there lay the trunk, head, arms, and legs gone, and nearly all hands busy, gins and all: one had a skin with the foot, another the arm up to the elbow, and so on, all scraping and cutting away the flesh from the bones: the trunk was cut open, and then I saw an old gin rubbing herself with a piece of fat. It was so sickening that I confess I got rather muddled, and I had a dreadful headache, with the excitement, the smoke, and stench. I am so sorry, for just then Billy cut out of the chest, I think, a piece of something which all examined very closely, and I stupidly did not ask for it to look at. It was said to be the stone which some hostile black always put into them, and is always the cause of death, if they are not killed in battle. While they were busy examining this, the look-out saw a white man in the distance. I went and got him to go away. When I got back they were still busy, and great lumps of the meat were roasting on the fire. I asked a gin very cautiously what was to be done with the meat; she said, Dig a hole and put

it in. I pointed to the roasting; she, however, denied that they ever ate any now. Soon she and another gin commenced to dig a hole each close to the fire; these holes were lined with grass. She said the meat would be put in and be covered up, and a large fire made on the top of it, so that the native dogs could not get to it. Just then the cry, "white fellow!" was again heard, and when I looked, I saw a neighbour, not very far off. I was going over to tell him not to come, but they were afraid of him getting too near, I think, for Billy snatched up a spear, ran past me, and stood right before him: "You must not come here," holding up the spear—"you go away." He took the hint and went back. My head ached very bad, and as I thought there was little more to be seen, I went away with him. They, however, called me back, and asked me if I would lend them a little flour, as they could not eat meat now; so they sent a couple of gins home with me for the flour, and I was very glad to get home and get a cup of strong tea.

They abstain from kangaroo for several weeks after a death. I am still in a fix about the eating of the flesh. They all admit they used to eat it, but they all deny eating any now, and I foolishly came away without seeing the end of it, but I was used up, and if I had stayed, I do not think they would have eaten it in my presence.

I have not stated that both men and women cut themselves severely as a token of grief—the men on the body and legs, the women on the crown of the head, and body, and legs. The mother in this case was cut from head to foot; the father from the hip to the ankles.

The following note was read:

On some FORMS of ANCIENT INTERMENTS in Co. ANTRIM. By
J. SINCLAIR HOLDEN, M.D., F.G.S., M.A.L.

THE population of the north-east part of Ireland has undergone so many changes within the last few centuries, that it is not to be wondered at there should be rather a paucity of structural relics, as compared with the south and west, where the purer Celtic race still flourishes, and cherishes the ancient remains bequeathed to them.

There is one portion of co. Antrim called the Glens, which has up to the present time been occupied by a remnant of the "old stock", speaking the Irish language, and presenting many of the characteristic Celtic traits, though very likely another generation or two will see obliterated these already fading features. This ethnological "preserve" is probably owing to the nature of the country: the bold rocky coast, mountain ranges,

and deep valleys, have longer held back the Saxon tide from the glens of Antrim. It is here some of the oldest relics of the past are to be found in greatest abundance, as compared with other parts of Antrim. Lines of raths may be traced for miles and miles in sight of each other, and venerated pillar-stones stand as familiar landmarks and guides.

But the most interesting remains are those connected with interments by cremation, the mode once almost universally followed here by the ancient inhabitants. It is very common for old farmers to tell of finding on their lands, during their young days, pots or crocks, containing ashes; in some the site of interment was unmarked, in others a large rude stone was close by. Nor was it unusual for two or three of these urns to be found together. This was the simplest of the forms of interment, and likely to be adopted by the common people—the body burned, and the ashes placed in a rude urn; a slab covered the mouth, on which the urn often lay inverted.

Of the structural forms of interment, the Earl of Antrim and I have found and explored three kinds in the vicinity of Glenarm, of which the following are examples.

1. Constructed of eight standing stones, close together, forming a small lozenge-shaped enclosure, with a large slab lying partially on top like a cromlech; in this, when about two feet of earth were removed, were found the remains of four urns, charred human bones, ashes, and bits of wood charcoal; evidently showing that this structure was erected to mark and protect these interments. As very usual, along with the urns were found a number of worked flint implements; these consisted of saws, scrapers, and lance-heads.

2. The next form is much more complicated in structure. Here an oblong enclosure, thirty-five by sixteen feet, placed north-east and south-west, was formed by twenty-six pillar stones; within this enclosure, at the south-western end, is what appears to be a cromlech, and, running from this to the north-eastern end, is a covered passage, or alley, four feet square and twenty-one feet long. In this passage, fragments of urns and charred bones were found: showing that, though this structure may have been used for some religious ritual, it was also a place of interment.

3. This had the outer appearance of a barrow, with an apparent diameter of about thirty feet, but, as one side was much disturbed, it could not be pronounced either round or long. In the centre, three feet from the surface, was found a pavement of large slabs of basalt, ten feet by four, and lying north and south. On the south end was a square cist, rather disturbed, enclosing a circle of six slabs, which surrounded a large urn, lying in-

verted on a smooth flat stone. The urn contained partially charred human bones, much less broken and burned than usual. The lower jaw and cranial fragments were highly suggestive that they belonged to an old man of small stature, and brachycephalic. Lying to the east of this principal interment were found the *débris* of seven or eight urns, smaller, and, as usual, with quantities of bone-ash; a few worked flints and a blue glass bead were also obtained.

The cinerary urns used in these different forms of interment are very similar, manufactured of a coarse pottery, with ornamentation simple and rude, the twisted thong and finger-nail pattern, separate and combined, being common; but sometimes a few zigzag flint scorings round the neck were the only decoration.

Though the structural forms of interment differ so much over so small an area, yet it is highly probable that all were erected by the same race and people, who thus showed their reverence and respect for the dead, according to the rank they held while living. The total absence of metal, and presence of worked flint, do not allow their civilisation to be placed higher than the Neolithic period.

The following paper was read:

On the ANALOGIES and COINCIDENCES among UNCONNECTED NATIONS. By HODDER M. WESTROPP, M.A.I.

It affords one of the most interesting proofs of the intellectual unity of mankind to trace the analogies and unconnected coincidences among nations. Many customs, beliefs, and ideas, present themselves in countries the most remotely apart, as almost identical, as bearing the greatest analogy to one another; yet, on careful examination, they prove with every certainty to be unconnected, and evince decided marks of independent evolution.

Modes of faith, forms, customs, beliefs, rites, ceremonies, some of so marked a character, as to lead one to suppose that they solely and peculiarly belonged to the people amongst whom they are found, find their exact counterparts in other countries with which there could be no possibility of intercommunication. Of this there is but one intelligible solution. From the identity of the human mind, the uniformity in its development, and from the sameness and resemblance of the nature and general constitution of man among all races, it necessarily follows that similar and analogous ideas, beliefs, and coincident customs, will be evolved, under the same circumstances, in regions the most remote from one another. As Payne Knight remarks: "Men, considered collectively, are at all times the same animals, em-

ploying the same organs, and endowed with the same faculties; their passions, prejudices, and conceptions, will, of course, be formed upon the same internal principles, although directed to various ends, and modified in various ways by the variety of external circumstances operating on them."

Human nature is always and everywhere, in the most important points, substantially the same. It will, consequently, be important and interesting to trace the analogies of the same human nature, in observing its workings under its various disguises, in recognising, as it were, the same plant in the different stages of its growth, and in all the varieties resulting from climate and culture, soil and season.

In America, we find frequent analogies to the customs and manners of the East, with which there was not the slightest possibility of communication, in the close resemblance of sacerdotal institutions, and of some religious rites, as those of marriage and the burial of the dead; by the practise of human sacrifice, and even of cannibalism, traces of which are discoverable in the Mongol races; and, lastly, as Prescott remarks, by a conformity of social usages and manners so striking that the description of Montezuma's court may well pass for that of the Grand Khan, as depicted by Mandeville and Marco Polo.

Man being a creature of instincts, which are a part of his common nature in all climes, and are universal, the same superstitions, customs, and beliefs, which are the offspring of these instincts, will crop out in different countries; and it will be found that the great factors of superstition, fear and ignorance, have, in all ages and under all conditions, given rise to ideas nearly similar. The belief in ghosts and the evil eye is universal. The same customs to avert the terrors of ghosts and of the evil eye are had recourse to in countries the most unconnected. The missionaries, Huc and Gabet, were astonished to find an extraordinary resemblance between the rites and ceremonies of the Romish religion and Buddhism.

All these similar or identical errors, spread broadcast over the world, have their source in that great fountain head, the infirmity of human nature itself: these *idola tribus* proceed from principles common to the whole human race.

The learned author of the "Divine Legation of Moses" puts forth a similar view when adverting to the similarity of pagan and Christian superstitions.

Humboldt, also, when remarking an extraordinary analogy between an Egyptian and Mexican festival, observes ("Cordilleras", i, 384): "In every nation on the earth, superstitious ideas assume the same form, at the rise and decline of civilisation; and it is on account of this analogy that it is difficult to distinguish

what has been communicated from country to country, and what man has drawn from an interior source."

I shall now give, in illustration of the above, a few instances of some analogous customs and beliefs among different nations, some so widely apart as to preclude even the slightest probability of any intercommunication or connection; the origin of which can solely be attributed to the innate principles of our common nature.

Sun-Worship.—Sun-worship was as universal as the all-pervading light of the sun itself. The sun, in the eyes of primitive man, was the bountiful bestower of all things, the dispenser of that active heat, which awakens all things to life, the beneficent ruler of the seasons. His vivifying effects were experienced by all nations; consequently, to the sun, in gratitude, man, in all climes, addressed his grateful prayers and thanksgivings for the blessings he enjoyed. His worship is, therefore, found in all regions. There is scarcely a country in the world on which the sun sheds its warming and fecundating rays, which has not offered worship to that luminary. It was worshipped in Egypt under the name of Ra, in India under that of Surya, in Persia under that of Mithras, in Assyria under that of Shamas, in Phœnicia under that of Baal, in Greece under that of Helios, in Peru under that of Inti.

The Evil Eye.—The belief in the evil eye is one of the most widely extended of superstitions; it crops out in the remotest corners of the globe. It is found among the intellectual Greeks and the cultivated Romans of the Augustan age, as among the rudest savages. It takes its origin from that common, but unamiable feeling in human nature, when an invidious glance, or a look of envy, is cast on the happier lot, or on the superior possessions of others. To avert the supposed effects of this glance of envy, recourse is had to the superstitious practice of using some sacred object, or pointed thing, to turn aside the baneful dart of the evil eye.

Many proofs may be adduced of the existence of this belief, and of similar means to avert the effects of the evil eye, not only among the ancient Greeks and Romans, but also throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, at the present day.

Placing Valuables in the Grave.—One of the most remarkable analogous customs is that of placing valuables in the grave with the body of the deceased. This custom prevails among all primitive nations and peoples. It arose from those common, natural, emotional feelings, which are awakened in the breast of every human being, and which make all human nature akin. The same feelings suggested to individuals of the most cultivated nations, and those of the most barbarous, the natural

belief that the departed would wish to have with them in their grave the things which they prized most when living. The custom among the Greeks of placing in tombs vases and other things that were dear to the deceased is thus described by Vitruvius: "Virgo civis Corinthia jam matrem nuptiis, implicita morbo decessit; post sepulturam ejus, quibus ea viva poculis delectabatur, nutrix collecta et composita in calatho pertulit ad monumentum et in summo collocavit; et uti ea permanerent diutius sub divo, tegulâ texit."

Lieutenant Oliver tells us that in Madagascar, it is customary, at the interment of any man of note, to deposit large quantities of property in the tomb with the corpse, especially of articles to which the deceased was known to be attached. We might give numberless instances of the same custom being adopted by nations and races all over the globe.

Cutting the Flesh in Grief.—The custom of cutting the flesh as a sign of grief is found among peoples most widely apart: among the Canaanites, the Huns, and the New Zealanders. That this painful manifestation of the deepest grief was indulged in by the Canaanites is evident from the following verse of Leviticus (xix, 28), prohibiting the custom to the Jews, "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead." Gibbon thus describes the custom among the Huns at the funeral of Attila: "According to their national custom, the barbarians cut off a part of their hair, gashed their faces with unseemly wounds, and bewailed their valiant leader, as he deserved, not with the tears of women, but with the blood of warriors." The New Zealanders also evince their grief for their deceased chiefs by cutting and gashing their flesh with knives of obsidian.

We thus find intense natural feelings giving rise to similar and identical customs among nations so widely apart as to preclude all idea of intercommunication.

I shall bring this paper to a close by giving, as a further illustration, the following passage from Sir Charles Dilke's "Greater Britain", which proves that peoples in the same phase of civilisation may present the greatest resemblance in their habits, customs, and actions, yet not have the slightest connection or relationship with one another. "As we drove down to the coast, we talked over the close resemblance of the Maori runanga to the Homeric council; it had struck all. Here, as in the Greek camp, we had the ring of people, into which advanced the lance-bearing or sceptre-wearing chiefs; they alone speaking, and the people backing them only by a hum. 'The block of wood dictates not to the carver, neither the people to their chiefs', is a Maori proverb. The boasting of and bragging of deeds and military exploits, to which modern windbags would only casually

allude, was also thoroughly Homeric. In Hunia, we had our Achilles; the retreat of Hunia to his *wahrè* was that of Achilles to his tent; the cause of the quarrel alone was different, though in both cases it arose out of the division of spoil—in the one case the result of lucky wars; the other of the Pakeha's (the white man) weakness. The Argive and Maori leaders are one in fire, figure, port, and mien; alike, too, in their sulkiness. In Waitere and Aperahama Tipui we had two Nestors; our Ther-sites was Porca, the jester, a half-mad buffoon, continually mimicking the chiefs, or interrupting them, and being by them, or their messengers, as often kicked and cuffed. In the frequency of repetition, the use of proverbs and of simile, the Maories resemble, not Homer's Greeks so much as Homer's self; but the calling together of the people by the heralds, the secret conclave of the chiefs, the feast, the conduct of the assembly—all were the exact repetition of the events recorded in the first and second books of the 'Iliad', as having happened on the Trojan plains."

DISCUSSION.

Mr. W. C. DENDY glanced at the instances of popular illusions cited to prove the universality of intellect, as sun-worship, the spell of the evil eye, etc., and affirmed that they were dependent on a variety of influences, easily explained. He dissented entirely from the broad assertions of the author, and believed they would not meet the approval of the Institute, however prominent may be his anthropological status. The effect of the paper might be to lessen the value of those relics which illustrated the anatomical varieties of races, so important in ethnic physiology. Differing widely from the popular craniologists of the day, he would ask what was the value of the classification of forms, if there were so close an affinity regarding intellect and progress among the multiform beings of the earth. The comparison of the archencephalic Caucasian with the dolichocephalic Australian would dwindle down to absolute inutility, were they not deemed indicative of those developments which form the very pith of encephalology. We might well believe the Oceanidæ, even as a group, would display a close assimilation of moral and intellectual qualities; but, when we compare the cranium of a Cuvier with that of an Oceanic savage, and, above all, the weight and convoluted richness of the encephalon in the higher forms, it were a libel on science thus to associate their mental phenomena. There are, of course, as exceptions to the rule, many instances where the intellectual manifestations seem to falsify these conclusions, regarding intellect, from mere cranial forms. The quality of brain must, in these cases, be taken into account. The weight of the brain of Cuvier was heavier than that of Gauss, the deeper thinker of the two, although the latter was far richer in its convolutions. It behoves the Anthropological Institute, especially, to regard with jealous eye these innova-

tions on the truthful principles of ethnology, and to that effect I have thus firmly expressed my humble opinion.

Mr. COOPER said : Some allusion having been made to the current superstitions respecting the evil eye having also prevailed at one time in Egypt, I rise to observe that the allusion is only apparently borne out by the numerous ocular amulets found in Egyptian tombs. In truth, these charms, consisting of sculptured representation of the right symbolical eye, either singly or in various geometrical multiples (four, nine, fourteen, twenty-eight, etc.), were really as much designed to invoke a blessing as to deprecate or avert an evil. The eye, the symbol of the all-watchful Heserei (Osiris), is found on the oldest monuments of the Hamitic races ; and was not, I believe, connected with any idea of phallic energy till the influence of a later Semitic cultus, derived in the eighteenth dynasty from the Ramesaic kings, and culminated under their corrupt successors, the Ptolemies.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the foregoing papers and exhibitions : Professor Busk, Mr. C. Charlesworth, Dr. Carter Blake, Dr. Nicholas, Mr. A. L. Lewis, Mr. J. W. Flower, Col. Lane Fox, Rev. George Sinclair, Mr. Wake, and the President.

The following papers by HENRY H. HOWORTH, M.A.I., Esq., were taken as read :

THE WESTERLY DRIFTING OF NOMADES, from the FIFTH to the NINETEENTH CENTURY.—PART VI. The KIRGHISES, or BOUROUTS, the KAZAKS, KALMUCKS, EUZBEGS, and NOGAYS.

IN tracing the pedigree of the Turkish races, we have arrived at their first emigrations across the Volga and the Oxus, the two frontier rivers of the more typical Turkland. We have stripped Persia, Turkey, and Southern Russia, of the Turk element in their populations. We must now cross those rivers, and enter the more proper homeland of the Turks—so held, at least, in popular estimation. Our difficulties, of course, increase very much, and our conclusions are necessarily more tentative, as we journey away from the haunts of civilisation. The country we have to deal with is the stony and sandy steppe, reaching from the Volga to the Desert of Gobi, and from the Sea of Aral and the Caspian to the Ural Mountains and the Steppe of Baraba—a hungry land, a land of robbers and nomades, whose ethnology offers as confusing a subject for investigation as could be desired by the most patient unwinder of puzzles. We shall traverse a small portion of the ground covered by the first part of this paper ; and be able, perhaps, to correct a few errors, for which a wider area of observation has suggested a better answer. Our method, as previously, will consist in gradually unpeeling the various layers of populations, until we arrive at the primitive kernel of the whole.

A great portion of the area which we propose to investigate is occupied by the Khirgises, and is from them known as the Khirghiz Steppes—wastes described picturesquely by Atkinson, and more valuably by Levchine. Like most predatory and disintegrated races, they have no connected history. They can tell of renowned chieftains, of marvellous escapes, of successful raids, of all the more striking incidents in the career of their ancestors, the natural subject matter of ballads and traditions; but of their own origin, etc., they speak as empiricists construct history.

The ethnography of these steppes has been very much confused by a not unnatural mistake. The name Kirghiz is unknown to the tribes to whom it is commonly applied in Europe. They invariably call themselves *Qazaks*. It is a name indigenous to a race of robbers, now inhabiting the mountains of Kaschgar Khoten, etc., generally known as Bourouts, Eastern Kirghises, Rock, Wild, or Black Kirghises, whose origin and history is different from that of the so-called Kirghises of the Great, Middle, and Little Hordes. When the Cossacks conquered Siberia, they found these real Kirghises living in the Eastern Altai, and afterwards applied the name to the neighbouring tribes of Kazaks, whose language, manners, etc., were sufficiently like theirs to pardon the classification. From the Cossacks, the name has spread into the pages of western writers. In this examination, we must distinguish them. The name Kirghiz, or Bourout, will be applied to the Kirghises proper, while the so-called Kirghises of the three hordes will be referred to as Kazaks.

The confused history of the Bourouts has been collected by Radloff, Levchine and others, and from them I shall take the following epitome. They are now most distinctly a Turkish race; that they were not always so is most certain, and will appear presently. During the supremacy of the Yuen or Mongol dynasty in China, the Opon (Ob or Obi) was the south-western, and the Jousse the north-eastern boundary of the country of the Kirghises, while the Jenissei flowed through their country (Klaproth). When the Cossacks invaded Siberia, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were living on the black and white Jousse, on the Abakan, and the neighbourhood of the Sayan Mountains; that is, they still occupied their ancient seats. Hence, they pillaged for a whole century the New Russian colonies, dividing their nominal allegiance between the Russians, the Eastern Mongols, and the Soongars. At length, just at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Russians, in concert with the Kontaisch of the Soongars, tired of their robberies, drove them out of their old country, and forced them to settle

in the mountainous country between Arizitchdzan and Kashgar, where they are now found, and are under the protection of China, Russia, and the Khans of Kokand. Radloff suggests they have been called Kara Kirghises, or Black Kirghises, from the obstinacy with which they have clung to their old idolatry. Believers still call the unconverted "kara kapir", or black infidels. They are only nominally Mussulmans; shaving the head, performing certain ablutions, and repeating occasionally some Arabic sentence, more as a charm than as attaching any meaning to it. They have neither mosques nor priests among them, and say no prayers. They are almost entirely occupied in rearing cattle and brigandage. Luxury is a misnomer to apply to any of their extravagances. Travellers remark on the monotony that exists among them; the rich being distinguished merely by a somewhat larger yurt, or more embroidered coat. They are very fond of music, and very hospitable and trustworthy to their guests, contrasting favourably with the Kazaks. In war, and to their enemies, they are described by all their neighbours as cruel, vindictive, and untameable.

In their old homes, the Kirghises were bordered on the east by the great plains reaching to the Baikal Sea, now occupied by very broken and disintegrated tribes. It seems to be very well established, that the Yakouts, who now live far to the north-east, on the Lena, who are a Turkish race, isolated entirely from the rest of the Turks, and surrounded by strangers, have only very lately arrived in their present homes. Their traditions all agree in a very recent migration down the Lena, from a country where they formerly lived as brothers of the same kin with the Bourouts. Now these Bourouts cannot be the Bouriards of Lake Baikal, who are Mongols, and not Turks. They were, no doubt, the Bourouts of whom we have just written—*i.e.*, the Kirghises. Their name, we know, agrees with tribal names found among the Turks of the Baraba Steppe, generally called the Barabinski; and many writers, notably Fischer and De Lessep, have affirmed the identity of the Yakouts and the Barabinski. The latter are very nearly related, as they used to be very close neighbours of the Kirghises; and I have no hesitation in making all three—*viz.*, the Bourouts, or Kirghises, the Yakouts, and Barabinski—fragments of an ancient race, which has been dispersed by the arrival of the Russians, or, perhaps, by the far-reaching ambition of the Soongars, a race which, on the Lena and the deserts of Baraba, has preserved for us a picture of what the Siberian, and probably all the Asiatic Turks, were, before they were sophisticated by contact with Mohammedanism. This dispersal I place not much earlier than the end of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century. The details upon which these results are founded, will be printed, I hope, elsewhere.

We will now turn to the Kazaks, on whom Levechine has written a most exhaustive work.

All accounts, traditional and native, as well as historical and foreign, agree that the Kazaks are but recent occupants of much of their present area. Everywhere in its western portion, we meet with traces of the previous occupants, the Nogays. In the eastern portion, the broken remains of the Kalmucks are the wrecks of the power whose decay opened a wide path for the aggressions of the Kazaks.

The pressure of the Kazaks has been constantly towards the south and south-west, occupying the deserted camping-grounds of the Nogays, etc. During the earlier part of the seventeenth century, the Sari Sou, which rises in the Ak Tag Mountains, and, after a very broken course, loses itself in the sands of Karakum, was their frontier towards the south-east, separating them from the Kalmucks. The Baschkirs still wandered between the upper waters of the Ural, or Jaick, and the Emba, while the Kalmucks held the country about the mouths of these rivers. The Karakalpaes and Turcomans pastured the deserts of Ust Urt and the shores of the Aral. It was only a short time before the Russian advance into Siberia that the Kazaks had overrun the old Khanate of Tura, before which their northern frontier was bounded by the Tartars of that ancient dependency of Genghiz Khan. So that, at that period, the Kazaks were confined to the central and eastern portions of their present area. Their chief Khan lived at Turkestan, and they plundered their neighbours on all sides. Their origins I shall consider with those of the Euzbegs. Here it will suffice to say, that their history as an independent power commenced with the expulsion of the Euzbegs from the country beyond the Jaxartes by the Soongars.

During the sixteenth century, our notices are very scanty and isolated. We have, in Fischer's "*History of Siberia*", an account of the conquest of Siberia by Kutchum Khan, the son of Mur-taza, and his Kazaks. We have fragmentary notices of Kazak raids upon the Nogays of the Ural; and the early English traders Jenkinson and others mention the Kazaks as inhabiting the steppes. But it is not till the beginning of the seventeenth century we get on stable ground. Abulghazi Khan relates how, in 1630, he took refuge with Ichim, the Kazak khan, who lived at Turkestan. Ichim was succeeded by Djanghir; and he again by Tiavka, looked upon by the Kazaks as their Lycurgus, whose equity and whose strong hand created something like order among the hordes. He was obeyed apparently, like his father and grandfather, by all the Kazaks. Under him, three lesser khans governed the Great, Little, and Middle Hordes. As he grew old, his hand became too weak to restrain his turbulent

subjects; and Abulkhair and Kaip, two celebrated names in Kazak history, were associated with him. Tiavka died in 1717. Internal quarrels and dissensions immediately arose, which led to attacks from all sides on the part of long-enduring neighbours. In 1723, the Soongars took Turkestan, the residence of Abulkhair, and subjected portions of the Great and Middle Hordes, and scattered the rest of the Kazaks in all directions. In the language of one of their elders, "We fled before the Kalmucks, the Kossacks of Siberia, and of the Jaick and the Baschkirs, like hares before greyhounds." This dispersion was most disastrous in its effects; multitudes of both the men and their flocks perished. Ill-fortune somewhat restored peace among them; they agreed to accept Abulkhair as leader, and under him returned to their old homes, and a white horse was sacrificed as a gage of future peace. In 1732, Abulkhair, and a number of his subjects, took the oath of allegiance to Russia, which agreed, shortly afterwards, to confirm the dignity of khan in the family of Abulkhair. In 1735, at the request of the Kazak khan, the fortress of Orenburg was commenced; and the next year, to check the turbulence of both Kazaks and Baschkirs, and to form a better frontier, the line of Orenburg forts was constructed. The Kazaks were never very obedient to their khans, and this intercourse and subservience of Abulkhair to Russia weakened his hands very much. The khans of the Middle Horde, over whom he claimed suzerainty, became very independent, and attracted many recruits. In his latter days, Abulkhair himself gradually got estranged from Russia; he was killed by Barak, one of the khans of the Middle Horde, 1748.

Meanwhile, the Chinese overthrew and destroyed the power of the Soongars: this was in 1756; and their vast country, almost reduced to a desert, was annexed to China. The Kazaks of the Middle Horde, who had assisted the Chinese, were allowed to drift over this area. They had desperate struggles with the Bourouts; but became very powerful under their Khan Ablai, although under the nominal banner of the Chinese.

When the Soongars, or Eastern Kalmucks, were overthrown, ten thousand of them joined their countrymen on the Volga; these new comers, accustomed to freedom, incited their countrymen against the Russians, and induced their celebrated flight across the desert, when fifty thousand families attempted to run the gauntlet of the Kirghiz Steppes, and were fearfully decimated by the three hordes in succession, and lastly by the Bourouts.

Ablai Khan died in 1781, and the Middle Horde was immediately split into fragments.

Catherine the Second tried to reclaim the Kazaks by building

mosques, schools, and caravanserais, and appointing tribunals to settle their quarrels and legislate for them, but with very partial success. The measures of her minister Injelstrom, to break up the power of the greater khans, were at last successful. The Little Horde was dispersed: a portion joined the Middle, another went over to the Euzbeks, a third to the Turcomans, while a fourth division of ten thousand families crossed the Volga, and settled in the land left vacant by the Kalmucks, where they have since remained. The land of the Middle Horde has been gradually annexed to Russia. It has been found, as is very natural, that neither treaty nor promise will bind the desert robbers. Plunder they will; perhaps, plunder they must is the more rational expression. The land is too hungry, life too precarious, and property too easily stolen, for much order to reign there; and it was inevitable, and surely not very disheartening to philosophers, that Russia should continue her advance till she enclosed with her iron discipline the whole of the desert.

The history of the Great Horde was, with great propriety, separated from that of the other Kazaks by Levchine. Separated by a long distance from the Russians, and situated close to the Soongars, they naturally became more or less subject to the latter. At length, leaving the neighbourhood of the Lake Balkash, they retired towards the river Sara Sou, and thence pillaged Taschkend and Turkestan, which, in 1739, were subject to them. On the dispersion of the Soongars by the Chinese in 1756, the Great Horde drifted over their deserted country, and recognised the suzerainty of China. The Torgouts, in their flight from Russia, were cruelly assailed by one portion of the Kazaks of the Great Horde. Another portion of the Horde had fixed its camp in the neighbourhood of Taschkend, and pillaged that town and the surrounding country. In 1760, a large body of Karakalpacs, driven from the mouths of the Jaxartes by the Little Horde, joined them. In 1798, they were subjected by a rigorous Khan of Taschkend, who attacked the plunderers, and exposed pyramids of their heads to frighten the rest. He reduced them to order. A portion of them escaped to the Irtysch, and joined the Middle Horde; others dispersed in various directions. When, in 1814, the Khan of Khokand took Taschkend, these Kazaks changed masters; but many of them, who had settled down, left their fields and gardens, and escaped towards China. The Great Horde is now broken up: a portion still obeys the Khan of Khokand, a second obeys China, a third is under the dominion of Russia.

Having epitomised the tedious history of the Kazaks, from the time of their forming a distinct nationality, we must now turn to the Soongars, or Kalmucks, whose arrival led to this result.

The origin of the Kalmucks is an obscure question. Pallas is probably right when he says that the Mongols were divided into two branches before the days of Zenghiz. These were most probably the Keraites and their dependent tribes, and the Mongols proper. His strong arm kept them united for a while, and probably the unity lasted during the continuance of the dynasty of the Yuen in China. When this was destroyed, the old division arose, and Kalmucks in the west and Khalkas in the east denoted the rival parties. Abel Remusat and others have shown good reasons for identifying the Kalmucks with the Keraites, the Ouirates, and their other dependent tribes. I believe this position to be well founded; and, if so, we must place their western limit at that date at the country of the Naimans. When the power of the Naimans was destroyed, and they were scattered in the Kirghiz and Nogay deserts, as we shall show further on, the ancestors of the Kalmucks drifted westwards, and occupied the abandoned country. Here they were situated, apparently, at the fall of the Yuen dynasty, and hence, according to the relation of Emperor Kienlung (see "*Mémoires sur la Chine*"), a body of them advanced on the country about Kokonoor, or Thibet, where their descendants still remain. They were divided into three main divisions; namely, the Soongars (with whom were joined the Derbetes), the Torgouts, and Koschotes. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Soongar princes subdued or scattered the other divisions. The fugitives to Thibet were probably a portion; another portion, after a long struggle with the Soongar princes, left the country, and found its way, as we have shown in the first paper of this series, in the year 1630, to the banks of the Volga. After these events, the Eastern Kalmucks are often referred to simply as the Soongars. The growth of a central power among the Soongars, by the suppression of the independence of many tribes, coincides with the decay of the power of the successors of Timour in Turkestan, and the break-up of the old Khanate of Kaptchak. This led to two migrations. The Kalmucks pressed across the Irtysh into Eastern Kaptchak, the Desht Jitteh of the Arabs, and dispossessed the tribes of the latter. Some of these joined the Kazaks to the north; the greater portion, under the name of Euzbeks, crossed the Jaxartes, and drove thence Baber and his so-called Mongols—*i.e.*, the descendants of Timour. The Soongars rapidly acquired a vast power.

The Emperor Kanghi, in the "*Mémoires*" already quoted, tells us the first khan of the Eleuths who came to do homage was Kousihan. He was well received by the Emperor Chuntche; was treated as a king, and presented with a special seal and the title "*souré*", meaning *eminent*. One of his descendants,

Tchetchem ombon, we are told, showed great skill in clearing his country of plunderers, and received from the Chinese the titles of Patour and Tousietou. Another, called Hotohotchin, with the title of Patour Taidji, was the Kontaisch of the Kalmucks, with whom the Russians came in contact when they occupied Siberia. He was the father of the celebrated Galdan, or Kaldan. Educated as a lama, it was on the murder of his brother Sengue, who had succeeded his father, that Galdan received permission from the Grand Lama to revenge his death, and declare himself Taidji. On very slight pretexts, he attacked the other independent Taidjis; and, having united the three main hordes of the Eleuths, was practically the founder of the empire of the Soongars. Fugitives from his ambition sought assistance from China, which sent a large army against him, and defeated him: when hard pressed he poisoned himself. This was in 1697.

Tse ouang Reptan was originally a small chieftain under the King of the Eleuths. With him, Septen Patchour, the son of Galdan, took refuge, taking with him his father's body. Reptan delivered him up to the Chinese, and with him the head of Galdan. This was only the beginning of his treachery. On the retreat of the Chinese, he ravaged all the borderland, including those parts of Mongolia subject to China. His aim seemed to be to revive the old empires of Zenghiz and Timour. By fraud or force, he subdued nearly all the surrounding tribes, and beat the Chinese armies. He was apparently succeeded by Ta-tse-reng, a *protégé* of the Chinese court. A period of confusion followed, in which many pretenders arose. At length, more successful than the rest, Amoursana raised the royal standard on the banks of the Ili. Several of the chieftains, fearful of impending troubles, fled into China, and were settled by the Emperor in the country of the Khalkas. Amoursana now threw himself at the feet of the Emperor, who gave him a high title. The Emperor Khanghi says, emphatically, the perfidious Amoursana, like a wolf which has once tasted flesh, could not be quiet. The fact is, the Chinese *surveillance* invariably becomes unbearable to the dependent tribes. The ambiguous summonses to Peking to receive fresh honours, literally mean prostration at the foot of the throne. Tired of the restraint, Amoursana took up arms, and overran all the line of forts built by the Chinese to protect their frontier. The Chinese sent two large armies, which were both unsuccessful. In 1752, two new armies set out, broke up the confederation of the Mongol tribes, and we are told Amoursana fled, to return no more, to the vast solitudes of Locha (the Chinese name for the Russian possessions). The Eleuths were destroyed or dispersed, and the disintegrated remnants were administered by the Chinese. They still

remain about Lake Balkash and the adjoining mountains, and are generally known as Eastern Kalmucks.

Before the Kalmucks appeared on the Volga, Turkish tribes, more or less pure, occupied all the country from the Volga to the mountains east of Lake Balkash, a tract which formed the ancient Khanate of Kiptchak, or the Golden Horde. At this period, this tract was divided into two sections: the western portion, including all the valleys of the Jaick, the Djemba, etc., formed the so-called Great Nogaia, and was the camping-ground of the Nogays; the eastern, the Desht Jitteh, was occupied by the Kazaks and the Euzbegs, apparently subject to a common khan, who probably lived at the town of Turkestan. We must now examine the origines of the Euzbegs and the Nogays. These were but streams of the great Turkish flood, which swept over Asia with Zenghiz Khan.

At the accession of Zenghiz, the country west of the Jaick or Ural was occupied by the Kaptchaks or Comans, of whom we have already written. East of the Jaick, the steppes of the Kirghises, as far as the frontiers of Turkestan proper, were the camping ground of the Turkish horde, known as Cancalis or Canglis. Both Kaptchaks and Cancalis were subject to Mohammed, the Sultan of Kharezm, known as the Kharezm Schah. He ruled over a vast empire, formed of the *débris* of that of the Seljouks, including nearly all Persia, bounded on the south by the Indian Ocean; on the east by the Indus and the mountains of Budakschan, etc.; and on the north-east by the further frontier of Transoxiana. Here commenced another great empire, about which you have lately heard from Dr. Oppert; viz., that of Kara Kathay, occupying very nearly the centre of Asia, and including what is generally known to geographers as Turkestan; that is, it included the towns of Yarkand, Kaschgar, Euzkend, Caialik, Amalik, and Bishbalik, and was the cord which tied together the various Turkish tribes whose independent centres were those towns. All these obeyed the supreme Khan, known as the Khan of Kara Kathay. These two Khans, he of Khorazm and he of Kara Kathay, ruled over by far the most important powers of Asia at the accession of Zenghiz. North-east of Kara Kathay and east of the Great Altai Mountains, was the small independent Khanate of the Naymans. Here we must linger awhile. The Naymans, by most authors, have been classed as Mongols. I believe they were nothing of the kind, and that this mistake has led to some very false reasoning.

According to the Arabian historian, Raschid, the country of the Naymans comprehended in its full extent the Great Altai and the Caracorum mountains, as well as the mountains of Eloug Serass, lake Ardisch (Saissan), the banks of the river Ardisch

(the Upper Irtysh), and the mountains between this river and the country of the Kirghises. It was bounded on the north by the Kirghises; on the east, by the Keraïtes; on the south-west, by Ouïgouria; and on the west, by the Cancalis. One tribe of the forty-nine banners of the Mongols is, unquestionably, called Naiman; but, as assuredly two Nogay (Turkish tribes) and a Kirghiz tribe also bear the same name, so that the balance of evidence, so far, is in favour of the Turks. The first king of the Naymans mentioned by D'Ohsson is Inandje, which, he says, is a *Turkish* word, meaning believer; the second is Belga Boucou Khan. Boucou Khan, he says, is the name of a celebrated ancient king among the *Ouïgours* (Turks). He says, again, the greater part of the sovereigns of the Naymans joined to their title of Khan the epithet Goutschlouc, which means in Turkish powerful, or Bouyourouc, which means commanding; a general of the Naymans was called Gueugussu, which has also a Turkish etymology. These names are quite sufficient to prove that the Naymans were no Mongols, but Turks,—the most easterly of the Turks; (for we have already shewn their neighbours, the Keraïtes, to have been Kalmucks)—the most like the Mongols, and therefore not unlike the modern Naymans; that is, the Nogays; most probably they were the Kimakes of the Arabs.

The Nayman country is too remote from the centres of civilisation to be often noticed by historians, unless it happen, for the time being, to have some exceptional connection with them. We are not surprised, therefore, to meet with the *name* Nayman for the first time in the historians of Genghiz. It is a Mongol word, and means merely six (see D'Ohsson). We may trace the *people* somewhat further, perhaps. Thus the country occupied by the Naymans in the latter half of the twelfth century was the home of the Ouïgours, or Hoeitche, in the ninth, when the latter were well known to the Chinese. The same country was at both dates bordered on the north by the Kirghises. When the Ouïgour power was destroyed, in 847, by the Chinese, it was chiefly with the assistance of the Kirghises, who overran their country in all directions. Now Nayman is still the chief of the tribes of the Middle Horde of the Kirghiz-Kazaks; when the King of the Naymans was defeated he took refuge among the Kirghises (D'Ohsson). We shall not be unreasonable if we conclude that the Naymans are in fact the descendants of these Kirghises, and of the Hoeitche, or Ouïgours, a mixed race, whose power is perhaps to be dated from the year 847. The following facts are chiefly from D'Ohsson, vol. i. Their first appearance is when Gour Khan, uncle of Thogrul, commonly known as Oang Khan, the chief of the Keraïtes (who, until lately, has been

deemed the Prester John; (*vide* Dr. Oppert Kitai, and Kam Kitai), took refuge with Inandje, chief of the Naymans; the latter vanquished Thogrul, who took refuge with Yissougi, the father of Genghiz. He, in his turn, drove out Gour Khan, made him take refuge in Tangout, and restored Oang Khan. In 1199 Zenghiz, in alliance with Oang Khan, marched against the Naymans. Inandje Belga Boucou Khan, such was his full name, was then dead. His two sons, Tai Bouca and Bouyourouc, quarrelled; the former kept the paternal home and the plains; the latter retired with such tribes as clung to him to the mountainous country of Kiziltasch, near the Altai. Most of the sovereigns of the Naymans joined to their title of Khan that of Goutschlouc, but Tai Bouca bore the Chinese title of Taivang, or Great King; pronounced Tayang by the Mongols.

Zenghiz and Oang Khan, taking advantage of the quarrel, severely defeated Bouyourouc, who took refuge in the country of the Kem Kemdjoutes, a dependency of the Kirghises. The invaders, in turn, quarrelled; and Saira, a general of Bouyourouc, defeated Oang Khan, and overran the Keraite country. The Naymans were only driven thence by the superior address of Zenghiz.

In 1202 Bouyourouc Khan, besides his own people, headed a confederacy of the tribes *Dourban*, Tatar, Kataguin, Saldjout, and *Ouirat*, all jealous of the rising power of Zenghiz; they attacked the latter in alliance with Oang Khan, and drove them among the mountains of Caraoun Tchidoun, on the frontiers of China, but there most of them were destroyed by the cold, etc.

In 1203 the long jealousy between Zenghiz and Oang Khan ended in the complete defeat of the latter, who escaped to the land of his old enemies, the Naymans. Here he was murdered, much to the sorrow of the Khan, who, to shew his respect *more* *Nayman*, had his skull encased in silver, and used it as a drinking bowl on great occasions of ceremony.

In 1204 Zenghiz marched against Tayang, Khan of the Naymans, with whom were Toucta, King of the Merkites, Alin Taischi, chief of a Keraite tribe, the *Ouirates*, Djadjerats, Dourbans, Tatars, *Katakins*, and Saldjouts. The Naymans were beaten; their chief was badly wounded; the chiefs of the nation, rather than survive the defeat, rushed on the victors, and died sword in hand; the rest of the Naymans were dispersed in all directions or else reduced to slavery.

Goutschlouc, son of Tayang, fled to his uncle Bouyourouc Khan; and Toucta, chief of the Merkites, sought the same refuge, among the mountains of Ouloug *Tag*, the western spurs of the Little Altai, and south of lake Balcash. Here they were defeated by Zenghiz in 1206, and Bouyourouc killed. Goutchlouc and Toucta

fled to the country watered by the Irtysch ; *i. e.*, to the north. In 1207 the Kirghises and Kem Kemdjoutes submitted to Zenghiz. In 1208 Zenghiz marched once more against Goutschlouc and Toucta ; he defeated them on the Djem (*i. e.*, the Jenissei) ; the latter was killed ; his brothers and sons escaped to the country of the Ouigours. Goutschlouc fled to the Grand Khan of Turkestan or Kara Kathay.

In 1211 the Khan of the Ouigours, Arslan Khan chief of the Carlouks and Prince of Cayalik, and Ozar, Prince of Almalik, broke their allegiance to the Khan of Kara Kathay, and submitted to Zenghiz ; two of them, and the son and successor of the third, married relations of Zenghiz. Goutschlouc Khan had married the daughter of the Gour Khan of Kara Kathay. The weak sovereign of that once vast empire had lost the allegiance of his three greatest vassals, the King of the Ouigours, the Prince of Transoxiana, and the Sultan of Kharezm. Koutchlouc, with true Tartar fidelity, thought it a good opportunity for retrieving his fortune. He first set out to collect the *débris* of his nation, now scattered in the countries of Imil, Cayalic, and Bisch Balig. He was also joined by the Prince of the Merkites. He entered into a league with the renowned Mohammed of Khorazm, to overturn the empire of Kara Kathay, and then proceeded to Euskend, where the treasury of Gour Khan was situated. Goutschlouc was soon after severely defeated ; but, in 1211 or 1212, he surprised the great Khan and made him prisoner. Master of his person, he left him the title of sovereign, which he bore till his death, two years afterwards. Goutschlouc attacked and killed the Khans of Almalig and Caschgar, ravaged their countries, and then conquered Khotan. He tried to force the inhabitants to abjure Mohamedanism. He summoned the Cadhis to discuss the question with him ; their chief Imam defended his faith with some warmth ; the Khan, in anger, abused Mahomet ; whereupon the former cursed him. " May the earth cover thy false tongue," he said. The Imam was therefore crucified, and a rapid persecution of Mahometans commenced. In 1218 Genghiz appeared on the frontiers of the empire ; Goutschlouc was driven into Badakshan, and there beheaded ; and the empire of Kara Kathay was swallowed up in the vast conquests of the Mongols. This conquest formed afterwards the chief recruiting ground of the Mongols. Its various tribes of Ouigours, Carlouks, etc., were the best soldiers in the Mongol armies. It has long been known that the very great majority of their troops were Turks and not Mongols. When Zenghiz attacked the Khorazm Schah, the Cancalis claimed to be very near relatives of the invaders. The same relationship was claimed by the Kiptchaks on the invasion of their territory by the Mongols ; both of these were well known Turkish tribes.

On the death of Zenghiz he divided his empire among his sons, making one of them paramount. The heritage of Djoutchi, the eldest, was situated north of the sea of Aral, extending westwards as far as the Bulgarians; or, in the more graphic words of an Arab author, "To the furthest spot touched by the hoofs of a Tartar horse". These vast steppes were the home of the Kiptchaks, the Cancalis, and of the *débris* of the various tribes driven westward by the Mongols, the Naymans, Merkites, Kataguins, Carlouks, etc. The small proportion of Mongols may be judged from the fact, that each of the four sons of Zenghiz had only a corps of four thousand Mongols assigned to him, the rest of his force being Turks.

In 1235 it was decided at the great assembly of the Mongols to send an army to conquer the country west of the Volga. This army was led by Batou, son of Djoutchi Khan. It first subjected the great Bulgarians on the Volga. In 1237 it attacked the Kiptchaks or Comans; one portion of these emigrated, a second was destroyed, a third submitted (see D'Ohsson, "*Histoire des Mongols*", ii, 112). The Mongols then attacked the Bourtasses and Mokschas or Mordouines, Finnic tribes of east central Russia, the Circassians, and a people called by Raschid, Vézofiniah. Having subdued all the countries north of the Caucasus, the Mongols overran all Russia, except Novgorod; and, returning home again, once more defeated the Kiptchaks and the Tchermishes. During the next few years they carried their arms into the heart of Europe, ravaging Bohemia and Hungary and most effectually subjecting the Russian princes, who for three centuries remained their humble dependents. The story is told in detail by D'Ohsson.

On their return they fixed their capital at Serai. The empire which they founded and which was handed down to the successors of Batou is known as that of the Golden Horde.

On his return to Serai, Batou commissioned his brother Toubouga to conquer for himself an appanage in Siberia. This conquest was the foundation of the Khanate of Tura or Siberia, which lasted down to the days of the Russian advance. We, perhaps, meet with an effect of this invasion in the pages of Torfæus, iv, 303, when he relates that, during the reign of Hakon II, 1217-1263, there arrived in Norway a great number of Permiens who fled from the cruelty of the Tartars.

Mangou Timour, Khan of the Golden Horde, died in 1280, and was succeeded by Tonda Mangou, who was deposed for imbecility about 1285, and was succeeded by four of his relatives as co-regents, of whom Toulou Bouca seems to have been the chief. This branch of the family were descended from Djoutchi, son of Zenghiz. At this time other cadets of the same descent had acquired

appanages under their more illustrious relatives. Among these was the renowned Noughia or Nogai, son of Tatar, son of Boucal, son of *Djoutchi*, now an old man, crafty and very powerful. D'Ohsson tells us he held a vast appanage north of the Black Sea, and including the Alans, Circassians, Russians, Poles, Vlakhes, and Bulgarians, as his dependents. In 1259 he made an invasion of Poland, in conjunction with Toula Bouca. In 1265 he married Euphrosyne, natural daughter of the Emperor Michael Palæologus.

He was now ordered by Toula Bouca to join in an expedition to the country of Kerk (Circassia? or the country of the Kirghiz?), with his *Toumans*. The two armies pillaged the country. Overtaken by severe weather, Nogai withdrew his army into winter quarters. Toula Bouca, more venturesome, or perhaps unlucky, was overtaken by cold and famine, and his army suffered severely. Taking umbrage at Nogai, he summoned him before him. The old warrior came, laid an ambuscade for his master, killed him, and placed his brother Toucta on the throne. He was not long in quarrelling with the new Khan, who, irritated at some insolent conduct, sent him a spade, an arrow, and a piece of earth, which guerdon was thus explained by his councillors to Nogai: The spade means, that if you bury yourself in the bowels of the earth, I will drag you out; the arrow, if you escape to the heavens, I will make you come down again; and the piece of earth, choose a battle-field where we may fight. Nogai's answer was sharp: "Tell thy master that our horses are thirsty, and we intend to water them in the Don." The river Don passed by Serai, the capital of the Golden Horde. The two armies met in 1267 at Yacssi, and Nogai mustered twenty thousand horsemen. Toucta was severely beaten. In a second battle Nogai was deserted by his sons and others (Novairi); he was then an old man; his long eye-lashes covered his eyes. In this battle he was killed. His name must have been famous indeed, and was adopted by those over whom he ruled. Their descendants are still known as the Nogai Tartars. His sons succeeded to the government of the Hordes, but did not remain long united, and Toucta was enabled to occupy his territory and to give it as an appanage to one of his brothers. The whole story is told in great detail in the notes to the fourth volume of D'Ohsson's history of the Mongols, from Novairi, etc.

The strange commentary suggested by the fact of this double Khanate, the *imperium in imperio*, possessed by Nogai, has not been properly explained by the writers on the subject. The explanation may be found, I think, if we examine those tribes who still call themselves Nogai, and who have always been independent, both of the great Khans of the Golden Horde and the smaller Khans of Krym, Astrakhan, and Casan, who succeeded

to their power. The Golden Horde was really the army of Batou Khan, the great Mongol invader of the West. Pallas, Dr. Clarke, and other writers, all distinguish very sharply the Nogais from the other Tatars of Krym, etc. Their *physique* and faces are much more like those of the Mongols, and they also approach them in other respects. Now, the Nogai traditions collected by De Hell point to their having come into the West after the days of Zenghiz Khan. Their most distinguished tribes on the other side of the Volga were formerly the Naymans and the Mankats, (? the same as Merkites) the most eastern and the most Mongolised, if I may use the word, of the Turks. It would appear as if the followers of Nogai consisted chiefly of the *novi homines*, together with all the less settled and more predatory tribes, while the Khans of Serai were dependent on the older inhabitants, the Kiptchaks, the Western Cancalis, etc., who were acquainted with towns and more amenable to discipline.

On the death of Nogai, the tribes who were proud to be known by his name, refused, or were too weak to be ruled by his descendants, and seem to have been conquered by the Khans of Serai. This conquest was, however, very partial. The strong hand of such leaders as Bereke and Euzbeg managed easily to control the whole Khanate. On their deaths we find confusion, and especially was it so when the line of Batou Khan was extinguished. In the days of Timour, the Golden Horde was divided and broken up, and the Nogai tribes constituted themselves once more a separate and distinct horde. When the Bashkirs were conquered in the sixteenth century, the Nogai Khan still ruled over a vast extent of country: a portion of the Bashkirs were subject to him. The western writers now speak of two Nogais, Great and Little Nogaia; the former on the east, the latter on the west of the Volga.

Great Nogaia, no doubt, consisted of a great portion of the western so-called Kirghiz Steppe; on the emigration of the Euzbeks, some remnants of the old Golden Horde who were still nomads, no doubt coalesced with the Nogais, as others did with the Kazaks. These Nogais were gradually pushed out or assimilated by the Kirghises. The Karakalpacs, who live about the eastern shores of the Aral, and who consist of Mankats, Kataguns, etc. (Nogai tribal names), I believe to be remains of them; others were pushed forward by the Kalmucks in the seventeenth century, and they were transplanted by Peter the Great.

In the province of Oufa a road is still called Nogaiskaia. Near the Irtysch is a steppe called the Noghaiskaia Steppe, while the Bashkir country is filled with similar traces. The greater portion of the Nogais crossed the Volga about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan

were broken up by Ivan the Terrible, and settled in the Kuban and north of the Euxine. But even in the middle of the seventeenth century they were the dominant race north of the Caspian and the Aral (see Levchine, "History of the Kirghiz Kazaks.")

Let us now turn to the Euzbeks. The successor of Toucta on the throne of the Golden Horde was his nephew Euzbek, son of Togrouldje and grandson of Mangou Timour. He came to the throne in 1312. We are told the military chiefs were inclined to support the sons of Toucta against *him* because he was a Muslim and insisted on converting them. They always replied to his overtures: "Content thyself with our obedience. What matters our religion to thee? Why should we abandon the religion of Zenghiz for that of the *Arabs*?" He escaped a plot they formed to take his life; returned with his troops; killed the sons of Touctai, with a hundred and twenty other princes of the blood; and occupied the throne. In 1314 Euzbek sent an embassy to the court of Egypt, which is described by Novairi. It took splendid presents, and a letter in which he congratulated Nassir on the fact that Mahomedanism had spread as far as China. He told him that in his dominions there were no others than Mahomedans; that on his advent to the throne he left to the northern nations the alternative of Mahomedanism or war; that he had vanquished those who would not be converted. Those who did not perish in these campaigns he made slaves of. Many of these slaves he sent to the Sultan, who, in return, sent ambassadors with presents to Euzbek (D'Ohsson, iv, 574).

These boasts were by no means vain. The Khan of Kipchak was then one of the mightiest sovereigns of Asia, ruling from the frontiers of Lithuania to those of China. Khorazm, *i. e.*, the modern Khanate of Khiva, was one of his provinces. In 1315 it was sacked by Baba, a prince of the house of Zenghiz, who was dependent on Ouldjaitou, the Khan of Persia. Euzbek sent an ambassador to the Persian Khan, who bearded that potentate with the menace that only a strong power could make. "If Baba has done this by thine orders," he said, "we counsel thee not to winter in Arran; for we shall enter that province with an army as numerous as the sand of the desert." The Persian disavowed the act, and appeased Euzbek by ordering the culprit Baba to be executed in the presence of the ambassador (D'Ohsson).

In 1313 a sister of Uzbek Khan was married to Yury, Prince of Moscow: this led to the elevation of the latter to the throne of the Grand Principality in 1320, and eventually to Moscow, becoming the first and most important of the Russian principalities and the settled seat of the Grand Dukedom. This was not the only marriage which brought influence to the Great Khan. About the same period the Sultan of Egypt sent him an em-

bassy, praying a wife of the family of Zinghiz Khan. D'Ohsson has told the story of the embassy, and the curious bargains that were made, very picturesquely (see "Hist. des Mongols," iv, 652).

Euzbeg Khan died in 1342. To him the consolidation of the empire of Kaptchak, the great apostle of Islam in the steppes of Central Asia, the Euzbegs of Khiva and Bokharah trace the origin of their nationality, as we are told by Abulgazi; himself a Prince of the Euzbegs. Following the custom of Turkish tribes they adopted the name of their most renowned chief: thus imitating the Nogays and the Kaptchaks, the Seljuks and the Ottomans. The Euzbegs, then, are neither more nor less than the tribes which formed the Khanate of Kaptchak; that is, the Golden Horde, those, that is, which formed its eastern half and were not settled in the various towns of the three lesser Khanates of Cazan, Astrakhan, and Krym, and did not join the confederacy of the Nogays. They remained necessarily nomads from their situation. Khiva is their stronghold, where they affirm their purest blood is to be found. As we have seen, Khiva was a mere dependency of their great hero, and therefore overrun by them at an early date.

They are divided, according to Vambéry, into thirty principal Taife or tribes. Among these tribes are very many, such as the Kungrat, Kaptchak, Khitai, Nayman, Kulan, Taz, Uygur, Oshur, Kandjegaly, Djelair, Kanli, Karakazak, etc., which are identical in their names with the tribes of the Kirghiz Kazaks.

It is also a curious fact, that when the Euzbegs are at a loss for a Khan, either from failure of the royal stock among them or otherwise, they have recourse to the Kazaks. These facts go strongly to prove that Euzbegs (*i.e.*, *Uz-begs*) and Kazaks (*i.e.*, *Kaz-* or *Gaz-ak*) are branches of one people, torn asunder only at the irruption of the Kalmucks, and that before that they were the common subjects of Euzbeg Khan and his successors.

We have now followed the migrations of the Turks in *Turan* since the foundation of the Golden Horde. In the next paper we shall shew how and when the vast steppes, bounded by the Volga and the Altai mountains, the Oxus and steppes of Baraba, were first occupied by the Turks, and trace their course down to the days of Zenghiz.

PART VII.—*The THUKIUE or TURKS PROPER, and the HOEITCHE or UZES.*

It is the practice among the Turkish hordes—a practice of which several examples have occurred in the present series of papers—to name a horde or congery of clans from that clan or tribe to which the ruling family belongs, and which is for the time predominant. Thus we, at one period, hear of Gusses, at

another of Kaptchaks, at another of Seljuks, of Uzbeks, of Ottomans, meaning, very frequently, the same tribes, whose generic name alone has changed with the decay of one predominant clan and the growth of another. The name Turk, by which the whole race has been so long distinguished, had a similar origin: It was the clan name of one tribe of Turks; and, being the first tribe of the race which came in contact with western nations, has given in their annals a genus name to the whole race. The Chinese, who have known the race much longer, still use the word Turk (Thukiu, as their orthography makes it), as meaning only a particular section of Turks. With them it has only a limited application and an *historic* interest: the Kaotche or Cancalis, and the Hoeitche or Uzes, are much more important names. To them, however, we must turn for an account of the origins of the Turks. They give several traditional accounts, out of which we must choose the most probable. This makes them descend from a fragment of the Hiong-Nu, so celebrated in early Chinese history, whom we know to have been Turks from the many words of their language we have remaining, and who were very rashly identified with the Huns by De Guignes. This fragment, which bore the family name of Asena or Zena, was settled about Ping-leang-fou, a town of Chensi. Driven westward by the Goei Tartars, they took refuge in the Altai mountains, and submitted to the Geougen or Avares. One of these mountains, from its likeness to the shape of a helmet, was called Turk by the people of the country. Here they settled, and hence derived their name. They were employed by the Geougen as iron-founders, an art in which they excelled.

They first became prominent about 545, when Toumen, their Khan, began to subdue several petty tribes. In 551 he defeated the Kaotche Turks who had rebelled against the Geougen, and in return demanded in marriage the daughter of his suzerain. On this being refused, he applied to the Chinese emperor, who, either more politic or less fastidious, gave him a princess of the royal blood. Toupen now rebelled against the Geougen, defeated their army, and took the title of Khan. He styled himself Il Khan, gave his wife the title of Kha-toun, and all his brothers and sons that of Te-le. He created a hierarchy of functionaries, and fixed his court at Tou-kiu, near the sources of the Irtych. His throne, placed under a tent, always faced the east, and before the principal entrance hung a curtain, in the border of which was a wolf's head in gold; he died in 553. His subjects worshipped the elements and sacrificed to them camels, oxen, horses, and sheep, and their priests pretended to the gift of prophecy.

Toumen was succeeded by his son, and he in the course of a

year by *his* son Mogan Khan; described by the Chinese as a big man with sharp eyes and a red face. At the beginning of his reign he defeated the Geougen; these last could resist no longer, and took refuge with the Chinese emperor, who received them well (*vide* the paper on the Avares), and then marched against the Turks, whom he forced to pay tribute. Limited on the east by the power of the Chinese, the ambition of the Turks found an outlet in the west and south; and, we are told that, having broken to pieces the power of the Geougen or Avares, they advanced against the Getes—who inhabited *Mavera-ul-nehr*, the great steppe (known as the *Desht Jittah* even in the days of Timour, and all the rugged country of Kaschgar, etc.—the precursors of the Turks in the very focus of the Turkland of our day. Before the advent of the new invaders bodies of Kaotche and other tribes of the Turkish race had no doubt taken refuge in this area. De Guignes mentions them. But these were only stray fugitives, seeking hospitality. The *Thu-kiu* were the first Turks to assert themselves here as masters. The power they succeeded to was that of the Getes.

The conquest of the Avares and the Getes brought the Turks into contact with Persia, and they made overtures for a traffic in silk, for which they were favourably situated, between Persia and China. The negotiation was carried on by means of the Getes or Ephthalites, who, fearful of being ground to pieces between two strong powers such as Persia and the Turks, caused the negotiations to fail. They persuaded the Turks to turn their eyes further west and to send an embassy to Byzantium. This embassy arrived in 569. It reported that *Dizabul* was then their Khan (probably the *Ti-teou-pou-li* of the Chinese accounts); that their nation was divided into four divisions; that they had vanquished the Ephthalites and subdued the Avares, except a body of twenty thousand, which had fled into the west; they also related what a number of other peoples they had conquered, and ended by begging the Romans to make a treaty with them. Justin sent as his ambassador in reply *Zemarchus*, who was very well treated by the Turkish Khan. He was presented, *inter alia*, with a *Kerkis* slave. *Kaschgar*, *Khoten*, *Taras* and the greater part of *Little Bokharah* were at this time subject to the Turks. *Zemarchus* returned home by the northern shores of the Caspian. On crossing the *Volga* he entered the land of the *Ougres*: they were subject to the Grand Khan of the Turks, and prove how far his arms had reached. The Romans employed their new allies in their struggles with the Persians.

About 581, a fresh embassy from the Emperor *Tiberius* the Second arrived in *Tartary*. It met with a Turkish chieftain, called *Tourxanth* by Justin, probably a subordinate commander:

he scornfully reproached the Romans with their double dealing, with having offered an asylum to the Avares, fugitives and deserters from Turkish authority, and threatened them with the vengeance of the Turks. For fifty years, the Turks in the east were now employed in various intrigues and struggles with China, which never ceased to sow discord among its barbarous neighbours, as the readiest method of weakening them. The tedious struggle is told at length by De Guignes (*"Histoire des Huns"*, vol. i, part 2). He tells us that, from an early date, the Turkish dominion was found to be too extended to be easily governed from the Altai Mountains; and that, among the subordinate rulers, he who governed the western portion of the empire was the most important, and it was with him the Romans had intercourse. About 585, this governor, who was then called Apo Khan, the Bo Khan of the Byzantines, became independent, and fixed his residence on the river Ili. His empire extended from the Black Sea (where the city of Bosphorus was in his possession) to the Irtysch, and was bounded on the south by the country of Kaschgar.

About 609, the Chinese emperor made a journey into the west to visit his dependents there, and received the homage of many of them, as the Khans of Haim, Igour, etc. Tchoulo, then Grand Khan of the Western Turks, evaded the summons, and was deposed by the Emperor. The capital of the Turkish empire was then situated in a mountain called by the Chinese San-mi, north of Aksou.

Persia was now holding up its head again. In 579, Khosroes Anouschirvan had traversed Mavera-ul-Nehr, and assailed the possessions of the Turks beyond, where he forced a peace upon the Grand Khan, and married his daughter. In 590, under Bahram, his successor, the Turks were defeated, and forced to pay tribute. About 619, the Turkish power revived. Tum Chehon, the Schaon Schah of the Persians, subdued several rebellious tribes, and even conquered a part of Persia. But prosperity among the Turks was always very transient; so many dependent tribes being always ready to assist the Chinese in breaking up any preponderating power. After a short unstable reign, Tum Chehon was murdered in 628. His death was followed by great anarchy and confusion. About 638, there were two chief candidates for the throne; and, at length, they divided the empire between them. One of these was called Yokoehe: he had the country west of the river Ili, and established his court near Taras; he became, says De Guignes, a very powerful prince; he subjected the Siberian folk, called Kiekou (Kirghises or Bourouts), who occupied the country from the Angara and Lake Baical to the Obi and the Irtysch; he even penetrated further north, and conquered the kingdom of Poma, situated

towards the mouth of the Jenisei. About 641, he defeated the Khan of the other division of the Turks, appropriated his country, overran Tokharistan and apparently a portion of Khorassan, and even pushed his conquests as far as India. He died in 653. In searching among the traditions of the Turks for some traces of a warrior so famous, and a conqueror whose armies overran such a wide area, we are forced to the conclusion that he can be no other than Oghuz Khan, from whom the Gusses took their name, who is treated as an eponymous hero by many writers, but who was, I believe, as historical a personage as Seljuk, Othman, and Euzbeg. Oghuz is, word for word, Yo-ko-che, when transformed by Chinese pronunciation. This identification I believe to be new, and I shall treat of it in detail on another occasion. We are told by the Chinese (see De Guignes, i, 485), that Yo-ko-che was succeeded by his son Kie-pi-ta-tou, about A.D. 653. This seems to be the Turkish name Kiptchak, borne by many individuals, and by several noted tribes, among the Euzbeks, the Kazaks, and Nogays, and which, we are told by Rubruquis, was an indigenous name of the Comans or Gusses. The Chinese historians tell us nothing of him. About 657, the Chinese seem to have overrun Tartary to the borders of Persia, and to have divided it into provinces, and appointed two khans, between whom the country was shared. This division, as usual, was followed by anarchy, each separate clan and tribe aiming at independence, and when, chafing at the exactions of a strong neighbour, moving further west or north, and occupying the greater part of the Kirghiz steppes.

About 692, the Tourfans, or Thibetans, took possession of Khoten, Kaschgar, Aksou, and the country west of Lake Jesikol, but were driven thence by the Chinese and Turks.

About 704, the Arabs, who had overrun Persia, defeated the Turks near Bokharah, and overran all Maver-ul-Nehr. So-ko was then the Khan of the Turks, who were very much divided and broken by the intrigues of the Chinese and the jealousies of the different tribes. The Arabs were not slow to take advantage of these troubles. Under Catiba they possessed themselves of Kharizm and Samarcand, where the Turks had been some time dominant. About 719 they overran Ferganah; and in 737, under Asad, son of Abdallah, beat the Turks again in that ill-fated march-land. The central power of the Turks gradually got weaker, and was pressed on all sides by Arabs, Chinese, Thibetans, and a new confederation of Turkish tribes, which was now raising its head; namely, the Hoeitche. De Guignes says that, from about A.D. 735 they were driven more and more to the west by the Hoeitche, and gradually fell under the yoke of that people.

In Ferganah, at Kaschgar, and in the country of the Ouigours, petty khans existed, who survived all these disasters ; they were versatile in their allegiance, and were ever ready to call in the Arabs and Chinese to help them against the Great Khan. In Mavera-ul-Nehr, and in portions of Khorassan and Kharizm, numerous Turkish clans were settled, and, when converted to Islamism by the Arabs, became their trusty soldiers. In the steppes north of the Aral, the Turks proper had for two centuries harried and plundered ; and they had to a great extent driven out the former inhabitants.

We must now take a rapid survey of the encroachment of the Hoeitché, bearing in mind what we have already said as to a new name meaning the supremacy of a new tribe rather than any actual change of race. I hold that the Uzes, who, in conjunction with the Khazars, attacked the Petchenegs, came from the steppes known to the Arabs as the Desert of the Gusses, between the Sea of Aral and the Caspian, and from the steppes of the Kirghiz Kazaks. We are told by the Arabic authorities collected by D'Ohsson ("Peuples du Caucase"), that they were divided into three sections, Upper, Lower, and Middle (a parallel to the later Kazak divisions), that the city of Hadilse (*i.e.*, new town), situated one parasang from the River Sihoun, and two days' journey from the Aral Sea, was the winter residence of their sovereign ; their commerce was chiefly carried on at Courcandge (Khiva). From this area came the Uzes, who attacked the Petchenegs ; from the same came the soldiers, who, under Arslan and the other early Seldjuks, invaded Persia, who are also called Uzes (*vide* De Guignes and others). The word Uzes is used by the Arabs in two senses : first, in a restricted sense it refers to the invaders of Persia and the west after the tenth century ; secondly, it is the generic name under which they include many of the Turkish tribes beyond the Oxus. According to D'Ohsson, who is apparently following Raschid, they thus include the Cancalis, Carlouks, Ouigours, Calladges, Kipchaks, Agatcheris, and others—the same tribes that formed the great nation of the Hoeitché at the invasion of Persia by the Seldjuks. The Great Khan of Tartary was the Khan of Kashgar. His nation was known as the Lion Hoeitché to the Chinese ; a similar name was applied to them by the Arabs (*vide* D'Ohsson, "Peuples du Caucase," 150). They were, apparently, the Carlouks of other writers. They then dominated over the Ouigours (the Tagazgaz and Bagargar of the Arabs), who seem, however, to have still had a Khan of their own. A similar dependent Khan reigned over Fergana or Turkestan, his capital being Aksou. He was the descendant of a long line of kings, traced up to the almost

mythical Efrasiab. South of the Oxus, the Arabs ruled over the whole country as far as the Caspian. No permanent Turkish settlers were there, save the slaves captured and bought by the Arabs and the remains of a disintegrated invasion, to which I have already referred. North of the Aral and in the Kirghiz steppes, the Turks were predominant.

The earliest recorded invasions to the south of the Oxus and west of the Volga, are synchronous, both being the results, apparently, of one impulse. If we examine the cause, we shall find it in the fact that this date is also synchronous with the destruction of the Samanide dynasty. This powerful Arab dynasty had for two hundred and fifty years been supreme in Khorassan, Transoxiana, and the great wilds of Khorazm. The Turcoman inhabitants of these districts were their subjects and in many cases their slaves. In 993, we are told Bograh Khan, the Great Khan of Tartary, who ruled from Kaschgar to China, and under whom were several dependent Khans, entered Transoxiana, and drove out the Samani ruler, and even advanced as far as Georgia. He fell, ill, however, and died the same year; and it was his successor Illik-il-Khan—the Yelouke of the Chinese—who put to death Abdal Melek, the last of the Samanides, and subdued the various petty Emirs. He married his daughter to Mahmoud of Ghazni, the celebrated Indian conqueror, and gave up to him a portion of Transoxiana and Khorazm. It is with the advent of Bograh Khan and Illik-il-Khan, that the Uzes first appear. The sons of Seldjouk, who led them into Persia, were *protégés* of the former of these conquerors. They would seem, from Dherbelot's account of Seldjouk, to have been still unconverted to Islam, and were therefore strangers to the Mussulman border-land of the Oxus. They can, in fact, be no others than a band of the Hoeitché—a name which seems the same, word for word, as Uzes—invaders from beyond Kaschgar. After breaking peaceably through the petty Khanate of Fergana or Turkestan, they overran the area now occupied by the Uzbek Khanates, overran Persia as far as Syria, and Russia as far as Hungary, were the subjects of the Khorazm Schahs, of a somewhat later date, and the ancestors of the great Seldjuk and Ottoman dynasties, both of which traced their origin to the Uzes.

The Hoeitché, it is reasonable to suppose, were not driven in one direction only. One portion, at least, we might expect to have taken the great marching route towards the west, across the Aral steppe, and we do find that about the time of their disruption new invaders are mentioned in the west, namely, the Petchenegues. We have already dealt at some length with them. Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us they were formerly called Kankar. He tells us, in another place, the name Kancar was

not borne by all their tribes, but was confined to the three noblest. We have shown that Cancar is the same word as the Cangli and Cancali of the mediæval and Arab writers. Abulghazi derives their name from the Turkish "kang", meaning a chariot. Abel Remusat has shrewdly pointed out that this is the meaning of the name Kaotche, by which the Hoeitche were also known. It would seem, then, that a portion of the Hoeitche, driven westwards, conquered the Turkish tribes of the Steppe (probably the Thiukiu), and were held thence to be of a superior and nobler caste; they, as we have shown elsewhere, precipitated the Hungarians upon Europe.

Having dealt with the dispersion, we may now consider the rise of the Hoeitche. Originally, a small tribe on the borders of the Toula and the Selinga, and around Caracorum, under the name of Kaotche, we find them subjects of the Hiong Nu, or, perhaps, forming one of their tribes. They consisted of fourteen tribes, each governed by its own chief, of which that called Hoeitche, or Goeitche, was the chief. About 429, they were beaten by the Chinese, and many of them were settled on the Chinese frontier. In 606, they were subdued by the Thukiue. About 646, their khan was called Tou-mi-tou: he had considerable intercourse with China, which led to many amenities of civilisation being planted in the desert, described by De Guignes. About 685, their country was overrun by the Thiukiue, and they were driven towards Kantcheou—that is, the later country of the Ouigours. About 744, they took possession of all the country of the Thiukiue, and fixed their royal residence near the river Kuen-ho. Their khan was then acknowledged as Grand Khan by the Chinese. In 758, his ambassadors disputed for precedence at the Chinese Court with those of the Caliph Aboudjiasar-al-Mansor. In 840, they were attacked by a hundred thousand Siberians, called Kie-kia-su (the ancestors of the Kirghises and Bourouts); and in 847 these tribes broke up and destroyed their empire.

In speaking of the Naymans, in a previous paper, we have already hinted that they were possibly the descendants of the Hakas, or Khirgises, who, about the year 847, broke up the power of the Hoei-tche. Their kingdom formed the western frontier of the country of the Hioung-nou, who created Le-lim, a Chinese general, their king, under the title of Hien-yam. On the fall of the Hioung-nou, they apparently became subject to the Thiukiue, whose khan gave his daughters in marriage to their chiefs. About 648, hearing that the Hoei-tche had submitted to China, they also sent ambassadors. The Emperor raised their country to the rank of Fou—*i.e.*, the first rank. In the year 758 or 759, they were completely defeated by the Hoei-tche.

Their chief was called the Age ; on the decline of the power of the Hœi-tche, he took the title of Khan. The Hœi-tche sent an army against them. The war lasted twenty years, and was unsuccessful. We are told that the Age insultingly jeered the Khan of the Hœi-tche : " Thy day is over (he said) ; I am come to take thy golden tent, to plant my standards in front of it. If thou carest not to meet me, I bid thee retreat without halting." The Age thereupon invaded his country, defeated him and cut off his head, set fire to his tent, and retired with great spoils to his own country. About 844, Ou-kiai was khan of the Hœi-tche : he had retired, we are told, with his people, among the Hetchetche, or Che-ouei. The Age of the Kie-kia-sse was made Grand Khan about 847. From the year 860 to 874, three embassies came to China from the Kie-kia-sse. After that date, they no longer appear in the Chinese annals, confusion at home leaving little time and opportunity for reporting the doings of remote tribes.

The empire of the Hœi-tche in the east was thus uprooted. Its broken fragments were driven towards the south and west. Long-te-le, chief of certain hordes of the Hœitche settled west of Kan-tcheou and Cha-tcheou, and subdued all the towns west of the desert. *These* Hœi-tche, bordered on the west by the Mohammedans of Transoxiana are the Turks called Odkhos by the geographer of Nubia. Most probably, also, the Carlouks of the Arabs. About 842, Salam made a journey into their country, and found many Mohammedans among them ; many of them, on the other hand, were fire-worshippers. About 874, they were defeated by the Thibetans, and driven further westward. In 875, they sent an embassy to China. About 893, the Samanides, who had taken possession of Transoxiana, or Mavera-ul-Nehr, invaded their country, and took their khan prisoner, with ten thousand of his soldiers. About 923, their khan was called Gin Mœi ; to him the Emperor of China gave the title of Ing-y-Khan. About the year 992, their khan, as we have said, was Bograh Khan. We have traced out their further history as the Lion Hœi-tche of Kaschgar.

Other fragments of the Hœi-tche formed the main strength of the Khanate of Kiptchuk, overthrown by Zenghiz. The greater portion of the Turcomans, the Kazaks, and the Tatars of the so-called Great and Little Tartaries, are descended from them. Before the break-up of the power of the Hœi-tche, their sandy wastes were for the most part inhabited by an earlier wave of population. If we treat the above tribes as the kernel, we shall find them bordered all round their northern and western frontier by a layer of Turkish populations, which have much in common with one another, and may be clearly distinguished from *them*.

Commencing in Europe, and going round, we have the Tchuvashes, the Meshtsheriaks, the Baschkirs, the broken tribes of Siberia Proper (as the Katschinzi, the Tchoulymsky, Kaidinzy, etc.), the tribes of the Steppe of Baraba or Barama, called by the Russians Barabinski; and, lastly, the Bourouts, whom we have shown to have emigrated very lately from the neighbourhood of the latter. All these tribes are Turk in language, and in some other respects; but their blood is very much mixed with that of the pre-Turkish folk. To all appearance, they were the advance guard of the Turkish invasion, and were pushed further north and west by the later Turks and the Mongols, until they occupied their present area. We must say a few words about them.

The Tchuvash call themselves Vereyal Khirdiyal and Vyres. According to Müller, the Russians call them also Vyress. This particle Vyr, or Ver, reminds one that the Avars, or Var, as the Byzantines called them, were once the dominant tribe in this area. The languages of the Tchuvashes is very much mixed; a great portion of it not being Turkish, but Ugrian. It is very like that of the Jakuts. Pallas, who has devoted several pages of his travels to a description of their manners and customs, points out how, in their religion, etc., they resemble the Mordvins and other Ugrian tribes. They are, in fact, the remnant of the race which occupied the country at the advent of the Turks, mixed with a considerable element of those invaders.

What is true of the Tchuvashes is true also of the Meshtsheriaks: they, too, are a Ugrian race overlaid by a Turkish element; their name occurs as early as the days of Nestor; they are found chiefly in the old khanate of Kazan, and have often proved faithful allies of the Russians in their contests with the Baschkirs.

The Turkish element in both Tchuvashes and Meshtsheriaks may be as old as the days of the Thu-kiue, or earliest Turks, or it may date from the invasion of the Gusses. We have no means of knowing exactly. We, at least, know that the Hungarians were driven from a portion of this area by the Petchenegs in the ninth century, and that the name Meshtsheriak is identified with Majiar by V. St. Martin. The ancient home of the Hungarians, as we have shown in a previous paper, was Baschkirland; they were the primitive Baschkirs. The present Baschkirs are still called Ishtaki by their neighbours, and bear many traces of a mixed origin, in which the Turkish element now prevails very strongly. The Hungarians were also called Oughres. The Oughres were known to the Byzantine authors at an early date; a portion of them having been driven south, as we shall show in the next paper, by the Avars. They became subject to the

Thu-kiue, or Turks proper, in the sixth century; and from this fact the Hungarians were called Turks by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. From the sixth century, when these Thiukiui first invaded the west, until the decay of the Nogay power, Baschkirland was the marching ground of many bands and tribes of Turks; and it was doubtless between those dates that the Turk character was firmly fixed on the Baschkirs.

Next to the Baschkirs, is the government of Tobolsk, the very ancient province of Ibir Sibir, or Siberia Proper, now inhabited by many broken pagan Turkish tribes, which, like those we have mentioned, show many traces of a mixed origin. It was the seat of the Siberian Khanate founded by a brother of Batou Khan of the Golden Horde, and, during the existence of that Khanate, received a large accession of Turkish blood; but it was partially Turkish before that. As we shall endeavour to show in the next paper, its original inhabitants were the Savirs or Sabiri, who were also victims of the Turks; and here also, as in the Baschkirland, the Turkish element began its intrusion about the middle of the sixth century, and continued to receive recruits from every unfortunate tribe that was swept across the steppes by invaders from the east.

The same remarks apply to the Barabinski, Yakouts, and earliest Kirghises. Baraba is a corruption of Barama, a Ugrian word, meaning the country of the Bar—*i.e.*, of the Bor, or Bour. *Out* in Yakout, Bourout, etc., is merely a Turkish termination; therefore Barabinski and Bourout are the same word. Sokha, Sokhalar, are names common to Barabinski tribes, and also to those of the Yakouts. The three races are, in fact, branches of one race, whose Turkish ingredient has probably (as is stated by Jardot of the Kirghises) been derived mainly from the break-up of the Hoi-tche; but also, no doubt, in some measure, from the earlier wave of the same race which we have spoken of as conquering Siberia and Baschkirland in the sixth century; viz., the Thu-kiue, or Turks proper.

We have now followed up the history of the stream of Turkish aggression to the sixth century. About the middle of that century, the Turkish name first appears in western writers; and until that date, so far as our evidence goes, no Turkish race ever came in contact with Europe, or Southern Asia. If we are to understand the vast migrations of barbarous tribes that took place in the fourth and fifth centuries, and which overthrew the Roman empire, we must forswear much that Dr. Latham and others have made popular in ethnology. We must sweep the Turks clean out of Siberia Proper and the deserts of the Kirghise Kazaks, back to the rugged country of Turkestan, Kaschgar, and the tableland of Pamir. We must sweep them

into the Altai Mountains and the country beyond, where the old empire of the Hiong-Nu had its seats. We must turn our backs on the plausible but long since exploded theory of De Guignes, that the Huns were the same folk as the Hiong-Nu. The Hiong-Nu were Turks, and the mere resemblance of the name has misled the great French historian of Turan. Having thus cleared our path, we can with greater freedom examine the pre-Turkish inhabitants of this vast area. The Avares and White Huns, who both the Chinese and the Byzantine authors tell us were predominant in its eastern portions, and the Bulgarians, who inhabited a section of its western portion before they were driven forward towards the west and north by other invaders. In the beginning of the sixth century, the boundaries of the Turk race were: on the north, the Altai and Saianski Mountains which separated them from Siberia; on the west, the Pamir Steppe and Ala Tau Mountains; on the south, the northern limits of Thibet Proper; while on the east they stretched away along the Chinese wall, and were, with the Khitai of Leao Tong, the only northern frontagers of China. Our next paper of this series will treat of the Avares.

The CHAIRMAN having directed the attention of members to the date of the forthcoming meeting of the British Association at Edinburgh, on the 2nd August, and announced that the delegates of the Institute would receive and take charge of all papers sent in for reading in the department of anthropology, adjourned the meeting till November next.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA.

BODY AND MIND.*

WHEN Bishop Berkeley said there was "no matter", he little dreamed that, A.D. 1870, matter would so completely overthrow metaphysics as to display phenomena which may, in their course, revolutionise the scientific world.

The gist of this volume is the matter of mind, and is naturally a dead set against the mental philosophy which was in fashion from Plato and Aristotle even to the era of Locke, displaying one brilliant tissue of metaphysical sophistry, garnished with illusions of fancy and symbolism. Erasistratus and Herophilus, it is true, the earliest dissectors of the brain, alluded to the πνεῦμα ψυχικόν as lodged in the cerebral tissue; and, in the fifteen century, Metry and Hundt scratched off their whimsical crotchets of craniography; and, three centuries afterwards, Gall and Spurzheim sullied the wisdom of their ingenious psychology by their fanciful mappings of the cranium as demonstrative of cerebral organism. But the *rationale* of the physiology of the hemispherical ganglion none endeavoured to explain, until Reid, the first rational noosologist, wrote his treatise on "The Fabric of the Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense", referring the phenomena of intellect mainly to impression of the senses on the brain: "Nihil in intellectu quod non prius in sensu."

In dilating on this abstruse subject, we are conscious that every student of noosology will regard it from his own standpoint, for his reasoning will be naturally warped by the special study of his life. The sceptic will pin his faith on the dogmas of Lamarck, and Oken, and Comte; the metaphysician, in working out his abstract reasoning, loses his way in a labyrinth of philosophical conjecture; the theologian, deeming the subject too sacred for scientific disquisition or controversy, is content with the revealings of Holy Writ, and believes it *dignius credere quam scire*. It is the physiologist alone, with the elements of life and mind ever before him, who is the legitimate exponent of man's earthly nature, and may presume to demonstrate, both by healthy and morbid sympathies, the phenomena of intellect. Yet, withal, the science of mind is no light study. Universal genius,

* "Body and Mind: an Inquiry into their Connection and Mutual Influence, specially in reference to Mental Disorders; being the Gulstonian Lectures for 1870, delivered before the Royal College of Physicians; with Appendix." By Henry Maudsley, M.D. London: Macmillan and Co. 1870.

like Lord Brougham, may dare to dabble with it ; but the Benthamite spinster found herself "hopelessly adrift on a sea of conjecture"; and Warren was scared by "suddenly sinking into an abyss": so they may rest content with the quibble, "What is mind? no matter. What is matter? never mind." Even the accomplished John Abercromby, tritely affirming that "mind is that part of our being that thinks and wills and reasons", presumes not to fathom the organic physiology of its manifestation.

Dr. Henry Maudsley is a bolder man. Enlightened by a fresh gleam of *γνωσις σεαυτου*, he sets himself, before the learned magnates of his College, not only to gauge the comparative majesty of mind and matter, but to prove that matter is well-nigh omnipotent in Nature; and now he challenges us, somewhat dictatorially, to cotton with him, and "to discover, by direct interpretation of Nature, how much matter can do without spiritual aid."

We confess we were, for a moment, startled by this proposition, so curtsy and so boldly advanced; and, with filmy visions of Rosicrucian mysteries floating before our eyes, we thought how lucky for the author he lived not in the days of Galileo or Servetus.

We reflected, moreover, that, ere we could calmly criticise, we should be clearly possessed of the author's idea and definition of the mysterious element of spirit (on which, indeed, we may essentially differ). But, even with the light of archæologic revealings before us, however firm its faith may be, science may not here presume to broach the doctrine of final causes; for we must, like Thales, give up the study of *Αρχη* in despair: the dogma of the positive school, "there is no beginning but a pre-existent force and its correlates", it were folly to discuss. We may just remark, however, that, without commenting on the direct influence of the deity, we were taught to believe that in the birth of thought there was some loftier element than matter, an exotic influence, call it what you will, *ψυχη*, *φρην*, *νοη*, *πνευμα*, *θυμος* (the immediate soul of the ancients) that played a prominent part in the mystery.

The discussion is, of course, without the pale of physical science, and we may not presume to claim from Dr. Maudsley faith in deity or demon. When, however, the author writes of "the beneficent evolution of the power which ruleth alike the courses of the stars and the ways of men," we may hope there is an undercurrent in his mind, and that he may refer, not to the self-creating force of the monad-cell, but to the invisible intangible force of the deity which endowed the monad-cell with a vitalised germ; as rational to imagine as an inorganic atom with the inherent faculty of *itself* creating a germ of life. We profess our faith in the modifications of this principle of endowment, as the grand element of mental physiology, and, indeed, of the magnificent constitution of Nature herself. With this reservation, we accept the *matter of mind*, and we may freely discuss the subject of *encephalology*, the science of the brain.

The grand theme of the author is clearly the unity of mind, which he engages to demonstrate "within the limits of the knowable." And

so we may believe that the author agrees with Herbert Spencer that "the brain and mind are one", and believes that the function of the medullary tissue is the secretion of thought; thus giving up mind as an independent and definite element, and reducing it to a mere product of matter. But, even then, this *welting* of brain and mind seems to be a very servile element; for we learn (p. 121): "It must be understood that by the assertion of the organic basis of mental function is not meant that the mind imposes the laws of its own organisation; on the contrary, it obeys them, knowing not whence they come or whither they tend." Yet this source is almost affirmed in the general argument. By this hypothesis, it is clear, all special organisation is tabooed, and the system of Gall and Spurzheim falls at once to the ground.

Regarding the question of the *Anima brutorum*, Dr. Maudsley cautiously observes, "without doubt most animals do evince the operation of mind; but whereabouts in the animal kingdom it first appears, and what part it has in the lower nerve functions of man, are questions not easily answered." Here, again, we ought to have a comparative definition of the qualities of the *Anima brutorum* and the *Anima rationalis*. The author then asks, "Is the brain the exclusive organ of the mind?" and, to prove the vicarious influence of special reaction, he cites the experiments of the headless frog and brainless pigeon that so startled the age when galvanism was a novelty. We cannot gainsay the experiments; but we cannot accept them as proofs of rationality and high intelligence imparted by spinal or ganglionic influence: the movements are automatic, reflex actions from the direct infliction of a stimulus, resembling the writhings of the mutilated worm—perhaps even the contractions of the mimosa. It is not the effort of an element that forms conclusions, but the mere instinctive memory of an impression, and not the action of design. The tyro of neurology will do well, however, to study the remarks on excito-motor action, and the perfection they may attain.

The author locates consciousness, which we may adopt as mind proper, in the hemispherical ganglion—as Brodie, we remember, believed it had a special organ, *somewhere*.

The author does not comment on the two bundles of nerve-cord within the spinal sheath; and we may still look on Charles Bell and Marshall Hall as the exponents of reflex or inverted actions. So also we may admire the author's remarks on the anatomy of expression and emotion, yet they are not so graphic as those of Chas. Bell.

The theory of memory and of prophetic dreams is not new; the subject is, we believe, too ethereal for the rigid physiology of the day.

We fully endorse the remarks on the influence of digestion on the change of ideas, from *l'allegro* to *il penseroso* during the process of digestion. In a few minutes, a complete metamorphosis of feeling and sentiment may ensue, especially while the ingesta are still above the pylorus. Simple gastrodynia is but a foreshadowing of acute hypochondriasis, the climax of which may be suicide.

Dr. Maudsley seems to believe that the ant and bee possess the

power of adaptation to new experiences, and, doubtless, there are gleams of volition, even something like reasoning, but it is *special instinct* that forms the honeycomb with such mathematical precision. The bee works by impulse, true as the needle to the pole. More of this we know not, and it is refreshing to echo the author's axiom—"Actions for a definite end, having, indeed, the semblance of pre-designing consciousness and will, may be quite unconscious and automatic."

True, Kirby and Spencer have cited many a marvellous story of adaptivity of action in wasps, etc.; but we must be wary of isolated anecdotes, which may be indications of mere memory. We doubt the voluntary action of the cord; the direct voluntary action of the brain is ever incipient. "But", we are told, "while the automatic acts take place independently of the will, the will may be absolutely dependent on the organised experience in the cord for the accomplishment of its ends." Is not the cerebral hemisphere thus somewhat slighted?

The recurrence of ideas from change of condition of the brain is even now a mystery; so also are the parallel cases of the suspension, even the conversion of the memory of early ideas, in place of those of yesterday, by maniacal excitement, and the transition again to present impressions when the frenzied fit was off. The remarks on this subject are very acutely illustrative of the sympathies of the high nerve-centres. When, however, the cicatrisation of wounds is cited as an act of memory, we must really demand the coining of another word for this interpretation of the *vis medicatrix nature*.

Faithful to his creed of unity, the author opens his second lecture with the fallacy, as we believe, of Dr. Bucknill, "neither in health nor in disease is the mind imprisoned in one corner of the body, and when a person is lunatic he is lunatic to his fingers' ends"; and yet he asks, "what is mental disorder; is it not a morbid state of one or more cells of the cerebral hemisphere?" Pray, is not this *partial mania*, in *disproof* of unity; but asylum doctors are prone to generalisations.

Then Dr. Maudsley folds idiocy and mania in the same pen, although one is from arrested development, the other from morbid influences. When, then, he asks, whence come idiocy and insanity? we may merely answer, from very different sources. Then, on the *habits* of idiots, he asks, "Whence come these animal instincts?" Surely man has his animal instinct as well as his reason, and when reason fails, of course instinct predominates. A little leaven of philosophy might not be unwholesome in the course of these arguments. Differing so much from Dr. Maudsley on these points, we waive the analysis of a dozen pages of curious cases, etc.; and we may merely observe that the comparative weight of brain (p. 55) from Cuvier to Gauss proves the sagacity of Parmenides, who eight hundred years before Christ, affirmed that the highest quality of brain evinced the most perfect thought.

From page 61, even to the end of the lecture, we have a sort of

running comment on the medico-legal question of mental alienation. Insane neurosis and hereditary insanity are the grand questions that incessantly bewilder the sages of the criminal court, and hoodwink the jury. Every shade of atavism for many generations is caught at and warped and torn to shreds by the defence. And, we must admit, the jury are not altogether to blame, in taking leave, on the plea of the diametric opinions of professional witnesses, to drop into the mercy seat, and be at peace with their conscience. The question is far too serious for a critique; and for the rational elucidation of the truth, we may refer to the Lettsomian lectures of Winslow, the essays of Bucknill and of Thurnham, and these Gulstonian lectures of Maudsley. We cannot hope that the coil of cases of insanity can be unravelled by any but a pure pathologist, able to analyse acutely; yet, unhappily, he is the man at whom the learned in the law are most fond of aiming their barbed arrows for his heretical slight of legal metaphysics, and too often by ridicule wring out a false decision.

We wish the author had dilated more on the *responsibility* of those whose vices have induced their own insanity. He who, by nursing a dark revenge, or by slavish indulgence in intoxicating drink, *makes himself mad*, and then commits a capital crime, is equally a criminal as a conscious and clear-seeing villain, and deserves equally the infliction of the severest penalty of the law: yet this crime of drunkenness may soften down the penalty of murder to a paltry five shillings!

On insane temperament and kinship the remarks are very judicious; yet the author does not satisfy us regarding the origin of moral evil. Its association with organic defect or disease is yet a fertile field for the philosophical pathologist. Its deeper study would have qualified Dr. Maudsley's decision (at p. 72), "how grossly unjust then the judicial criterion of responsibility which dooms an insane person to death if he knew what he was doing when he committed a murder."

We can fancy the facial distortion in the *umbræ* of Charles Lamb, Sydney Smith, Tom Hood, Barham, and even Charles Dickens, at the comments of the author on *punning*, and the expression of "an idea in a double sense", as a symptom of insane temperament; but some of the punsters, it is clear, had hard brains and others soft, and these latter, we suppose, are the wits allied to madness. The pathology of the whole lecture is indicative of very acute observation on the yet almost *maiden* subject of rational encephalology.

The third lecture is confessedly pathological. Yet the insanity from morbid sympathies is, in varied degrees, so often displayed, that it may be fairly glanced at as an anthropologic subject. Faithful to his idea of an all-pervading neurosis in the pathology of intellect, Dr. Maudsley proceeds to describe the varieties of mental aberration from excitement of the special cerebral organism, and the peculiar derangement of direct or reflex sympathy, and dilates very sensibly on hysterical, pubescent, sexual, puerperal, periodic, and sympathetic insanity; and the pages (from 81 to 94) are replete with remarks of practical value. They strike at the root of those illusions of the Middle Ages,

the visions of Sta. Theresa, and other hysteric devotees, and the erotomania of many a holy sisterhood, which in those dark eras were so often referred to demoniacal possession, and doomed by the blind bigot to chains and flagellation. The moralist may clearly prove how much devotion, education, and self-control can effect in the arrest of these erotic paroxysms, if they be adopted in early stages.

The insanity from morbid sensation is yet to be studied more deeply. We have known many who have prophetically foreshadowed their illusions, graphically describing feelings, faintly resembling *aura epileptica*, creeping on until the sensation settled in an organ; and then began the illusions that were clearly associated with the functions or properties of such organ. The distress from hernia in men, and prolapsus in women, is often so severe as to induce real maniacal paroxysms. The subject, however, is more that of physis than of physics, and more adapted to the sophs of Pall Mall than those of St. Martin's Place.

On the sympathy of the stomach with the brain the author's remarks are very suggestive: simple dyspepsia is ever distressing, its acute form is among the most severe *irritamenta malorum*, overshadowing the mind, and setting it to brood over imaginary evils. The spot in which these severe and indescribable feelings are centred is in the *epigastrium*, about the *ensiform cartilage*, and hence the term *hypochondriasis* for those perverted sensations which so often induce suicide. The subject of delirium of exhaustion, defective nutrition, and gastric inanition, the influence of poverty and vitiation of the blood as causes of insanity, we doubt not, were listened to at the College with deep attention.

Dr. Maudsley winds up his third lecture with fresh allusions to his pet subject of *unity*, yet we confess our impression that his conclusions are not always illustrative of his arguments. Even if the brain and mind compose one combined endowment, we might have been favoured with some gleams of the special medullary cells illustrative of the *diversity* of mental wisdom and mental illusion. Agreeing with Dr. Maudsley in his estimate of nerve-element in mental manifestation, we are happy to learn that the dethronement of superstition will be "a step in human progress, and in the beneficent evolution of the power which ruleth alike the courses of the stars and the ways of men."

To complete the conventional volume is added a reprint of an essay from the *Medico-Chir. Review*. It is perfectly congenial with the lectures, and is entitled, "The Theory of Vitality." The first spark of life! Whence, and where, and when, and how, and what? We may here write calmly on the subject, but, next to the *latest* scintilla, this is the most awful problem that can engage our thoughts. We forget—we are here writing on the *present* position of Science, which, in its pride of place, will now presume to plunge at once *in medias res*. This we may gather even in the preface. There we read—"Whether living matter was formed originally, or is now being formed from non-living matter by the operation of physical causes and natural

laws, are questions which, notwithstanding the lively and vigorous handling which they have had, are far from being settled." Who will not feel that even this glimmer of doubt is a startling proposition! But read on: "The one conclusive experiment, indeed, in proof of the origin of living from dead matter will be to make life." Conclusive indeed! Perhaps the most discreet thing would be to refer the reader for an illustration to the discourse of the learned Coryphæus of Epigenesis; but it will be hard to make Dr. Maudsley, heroic as he is, responsible for the platitudes of another, regarding the creation of the protoplasm. The microscope is certainly unfolding arcana that bear, *primâ facie*, a faint resemblance of creation—the conversion of a seemingly inert atom into a living, moving being. Yet we have no clear proof that life was here formed, *de novo*, of fresh combinations of *nitrogen*, *hydrogen*, and *carbon*. Until we can demonstrate that a clod may be gifted with a law to make life independently of creative power, we cannot hail any modern Prometheus as a life-maker, however ingeniously he may expatiate on the evolution of the protoplasm.

Towards the conclusion, the author draws in his horns in these words: "It is easy to perceive how impossible it is, in the present state of science, to come to any positive conclusion with regard to the nature of the vital force." And yet his brain is charged with ideas that are absolutely heterodox, strange to say, so shallow and puerile as to excite a smile. Such is the doubt regarding the *persistence* of the living cell. "A definite quantity only (of germs) could have been derived from the mother structure, and that must have been translated at an early period of growth!" We simply refer to the multilocular cyst, and ask the author where is the limit to the conversion of active vital germs into *parent* cells?

We may glance also at this crude hypothesis: "Admitting that the vital transforming matter is at first derived from vital structure, it is evident that the external force and matter transformed does in turn become transforming force" (that is *vital*); "and if that takes place after the vital process has *once commenced*, is it extravagant to suppose that a similar transformation might, at some period, have commenced the process, and may even now be doing so!" An assumption too far advanced even as an interrogation. The foreseeing Brahmin might here whisper a hint to the Promethean, "Oh ye whose heads are pure, how could something come out of nothing?"

The author will respond with the dogma of the chemico-vital force: "Matter that has lived, lives again, brought out by electricity." This might some years ago have been for the moment accepted, when Mr. Crosse startled the scientific world with the evolution of an acarus from a solid mass of mineral by electricity; but on reflection, none could gainsay the possibility of this germ having been deposited thousands of years ago during the crystallisation of the rock: as we know that a vital cell may be dormant for ages, and at last be fertilised, like the mummy-wheat brought from Egypt by Sir Gardner Wilkinson. We may regard Dr. Beale and Dr. Gull as the exponents of these mysterious experiments with much hope. The last fifteen pages on vitality deserve very careful study.

The author *supposes* a law to illustrate cellular attraction ; may we not *suppose* a law of vital endowment even in the cell of the infusoria? This question of life-making trenches closely on the special fiat that may still be influential over the wide realm of Nature as at its first endowment. Here we cannot estimate too highly the inductive wisdom of Lord Bacon, from which has at length resulted the reversal of the method of investigation, from the most simple to the most complex, and this principle is well sustained throughout the volume, as well as the analysis of the *real* and the *ideal*, and the *progress of science*. Yet, of course, we may be long in shadow ; and the author's own words confess, discreetly, that the nature of vitality is still an enigma ; and it behoves every experimentalist to be in the minutest degree careful and truthful as he offers his arguments to the scientific world, or he may bewilder rather than enlighten.

Dr. Maudsley has illustrated very lucidly the different degrees of vitality, from the simple cell of the protozoon to the complex organism of man. Yet the phraseology might have been more simple. The blending of Vitality and Thought in the same comparative category smacks somewhat of the whimsical. In comparing blood-life with nerve-life, the author asserts the higher dignity of the latter ; it being the loftiest parasite, sucking the life of the blood. On this abstruse question, as on the *chronometry of organic processes*, broached by Mr. Paget, we must yet wait for more demonstration.

We have thus written boldly, perhaps presumingly, our comments on the novelty, and indeed the latitude, of Dr. Maudsley's views. Yet we must repeat our sincere laudation of the lucidity and force of his style of writing. He has given the world of science a bold challenge, and his study has clearly qualified him to sustain it against all comers, if not always with victory. His deep reading and research will tempt him to further daring, yet his wisdom may be the parallel of his learning ;—will he illustrate in his faith the axiom of Bacon : "While the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further ; but when it beholdeth the chain of them, confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity?"

DELTA.

DARWINISM : being an Examination of Mr. St. George Mivart's "Genesis of Species". By Chauncey Wright, Esq. London : John Murray. 1871.

THIS pamphlet, which is a reprint from the *North American Review* for July last, is a defence of the theory of natural selection, as distinguished from evolution, against what Mr. Chauncey Wright terms "the most effective general criticism of the theory of natural selection which has yet appeared." That the defence is successful, so far as it extends, cannot be doubted ; and its author may be congratulated on the great ability with which he has performed his task. He does not, however, keep out of sight the fact that Mr. Darwin has, in

the last edition of the "Origin of Species", admitted that, in the earlier editions, he had probably "attributed too much to the action of natural selection, or survival of the fittest," and that he now limits it to "adaptive changes of structure". Mr. Wright states that the only difference, on purely scientific grounds, between the views of Mr. Darwin and those of Mr. Mivart, who is himself an evolutionist, is in regard to the extent to which the process of natural selection has been effective in the modifications of species. He adds that "Mr. Darwin himself, from the very nature of the process, has never supposed for it, as a cause, any other than a co-ordinate place among other causes of change, though he attributes to it a superintendent, directive, and controlling agency among them." This should be kept in memory, and even if the place to which natural selection is entitled should be found to be less important than that assigned to it by Mr. Darwin, the great service he has done on behalf of the general principle of evolution should not be forgotten.

MAN CONTEMPLATED PHYSICALLY, MORALLY, INTELLECTUALLY, AND SPIRITUALLY. By J. W. Jackson, M.A.I.

THIS is a small work, of which the first part only has yet appeared, by a well-known writer on anthropological subjects. It is hardly possible yet to criticise the work; but it may safely be said that it presents those marks of conscientious thought and broad-mindedness which characterise all Mr. Jackson's productions. His view of the nature and destiny of the savage is just; and his remark, with reference to the black peoples of the tropical area, that they are simply "primitive man, perpetuated under primeval conditions," is both true and striking. The strictures on the "specialism" of anthropologists are not altogether undeserved, and they might with justice be extended to the cultivators of other branches of science. But science, nevertheless, would fare badly without specialists.

THE HURON RACE, AND ITS HEAD-FORM. By Daniel Wilson, LL.D.
(Read before the Canadian Institute, April 8th, 1871.)

DR. WILSON, when he originally applied himself to the study of the Huron head-form, was prepared to find a prevailing uniformity of type, owing to "seemingly favourable circumstances of isolation." In this he was disappointed, his experience being, like that of Dr. Meigs and later inquirers, that "the comprehensive generalisations of earlier American ethnologists, under the guidance of Dr. Morton, which led to the doctrine of a homogeneous cranial type for the American aborigines, has everywhere failed when subjected to the crucial test of detailed observation." As to the Huron head-form, Dr. Wilson, who examined upwards of seventy skulls belonging to a single tribe, asserts that it is undoubtedly dolichocephalic. There is, however, much cranial diversity; greater uniformity being in physiognomy. "The nose is in most cases large and prominent; the superciliary ridges in the males are strongly developed; and a common ethnical character may

be traced in the full face as a whole, including the massive, broad cheek-bones and superior maxilla; as well as in the indications in the greater number of a tendency towards a pointed apex, or meeting of the parietal bones at an angle at the sagittal suture." Measurements of twenty Huron skulls are given; and Dr. Wilson's memoir is rendered still more valuable by three plates of Huron skulls, from different points of view.

THE MIAU-TSI. By the Rev. J. Edkins.

MR. EDKINS' pamphlet is a comparative vocabulary of the Miau dialects, with introductory remarks on the people themselves. In the former character its value, owing to the little that has hitherto been known of the Miau language, can hardly be over-estimated, more especially as the sources from which it is compiled appear to be reliable. The author, who, it may be stated, is favourably known by his work on the Chinese, says that the Miau are mentioned in Chinese history for four thousand years, and that "all the tribes whose race name is Miau or Man, are of Chinese consanguinity, and arrived in South China either before or contemporaneously with the earliest Chinese history." The more powerful Lo-lo, who are usually classed with the Miau, appear to be allied to the Thibetans and Burmese. The Miau-tsi are described in a Chinese decree, as having "deep eyes, long bodies, dark faces, white teeth, crooked nose, with plaited hair and beard." They use charms, practice divination, worship demons and the spirits of their ancestors, and offer cows and pigs to the mountains. The Ki tribe are zealous Buddhists. Burning the bodies of the dead is practised by some tribes, but not by all.

MECHANISM IN THOUGHT AND MORALS. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. Second edition. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston. 1871.

THIS Address, delivered by one of the leading thinkers of the United States before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, is well worthy of perusal. Sparkling with quaint humour, and illustrated by ingenious similes, it is philosophic in the highest sense, treating of thought and morals in their automatic aspect from a higher standpoint than that too often occupied by the man of science. In the following extract we have the key-note of Mr. Holmes' philosophy: "The attitude of modern Science is erect, her aspect serene, her determination inexorable, her onward movement unflinching; because she believes herself, in the order of Providence, the true successor of the men of old, who brought down the light of heaven to men. She has reclaimed astronomy and cosmogony, and is already laying a firm hand on anthropology, over which another battle must be fought, with the usual result, to come sooner or later." Let anthropologists be imbued with Mr. Holmes' spirit and they cannot fail to succeed in this conflict, which is the necessary accompaniment of the onward progress in the path of truth. There are many suggestive ideas scattered throughout this little work, which will commend itself to all readers.

THE LATE MR. WILLIAM PINKERTON, F.S.A.—We are sorry to have to record the death of this gentleman, which took place on the 30th July, 1871. Mr. Pinkerton was a devoted anthropologist, and the following extract from *Notes and Queries* shows the general estimation in which he was held:—"Many of our old friends must have missed for some time from our pages, and missed with regret, the once familiar signature of William Pinkerton. That silence was caused by illness—an illness which, we are grieved to say, terminated fatally on Sunday last. To those who remember how varied were the subjects which were treated by Mr. Pinkerton, it is superfluous to state that he was a gentleman of wide and discursive reading; and if his style was sometimes a little trenchant, it was a venial fault, springing as it did from his earnest love of truth, and a warmth of heart which endeared him to all who had the advantage of his friendship. Mr. Pinkerton, who was born at Belfast on the 22nd of January, 1811, was an extensive contributor to many of our chief periodicals, as well as to the *Ulster and Kilkenny Archaeological Journals*, the *Anthropological Review*, and the "Book of Days"; and he printed privately in 1870 a "History of Hounslow Chapel", &c. He had for many years been engaged on a history of his native place, still in manuscript. His remains will be interred to-day (August 5) in the cemetery at Kensal Green."

KIMMERIANS AND ATLANTEANS.—In reference to a note by Mr. J. F. Campbell, which appeared in the last number of the JOURNAL, and in which that gentleman seemed to consider the dark-eyed Atlanteans, or Iberians, to be a specially dangerous and disorderly kind of people, I would remark: 1. That it is universally allowed that the dark-eyed peoples of Europe are the least addicted to drunkenness. 2. That statistics conclusively prove them to be the most chaste (see my paper on "Peoples inhabiting the British Isles," read before the Anthropological Society, December 6th, 1870). 3. That those who are the least inclined to drunkenness and debauchery are generally the most orderly members of society in other ways; and that generalisations to the contrary, unsupported by statistics, are hardly to be trusted. 4. That it is not surprising that Mr. Campbell found the dark-eyed people in great numbers in a mob in Hyde Park, seeing that Dr. Beddoe's statistical researches clearly show that the dark-eyed people form an unusually large proportion of the population of London generally. 5. I do not know whether I am quite correct in understanding Mr. Campbell to trace some connection between the Atlantean and Negro races—if so, I should be glad to know whether there can be any connection between the Australians, the Negroes, and the Esquimaux, seeing that various anthropological authorities have traced a connection between each of these races and the unfortunate Atlanteans or Iberians of Europe.—A. L. LEWIS.